00029971

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY-400 023.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 April, 2016

The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Liverpool, K.G.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

COURT OF GEORGE IV.

1820—1830.

FROM ORIGINAL FAMILY DOCUMENTS.

29971

BY

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS, K.G.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

55. b 13

LONDON:
HURST AND BLACKETT, PUBLISHERS,
SUCCESSORS TO HENRY COLBURN,
13, GREAT MARLBOROUGH STREET.
1859.

The right of Translation is reserved.

00029971

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

[1820.]

Alarming Illness of the Heir-Apparent at the Death of George the Third—Disturbed State of Public Opinion—Projected Assassination of Ministers — Cato-street Conspiracy — Death of the Princess Elizabeth—Rumoured Ministerial Changes and threatened Return of Queen Caroline—Elements of Discord—Libels and Libellers—Order of the Garter conferred on the Marquis of Buckingham, pp. 3—25

CHAPTER II.

[1820.]

Arrival of Queen Caroline at St. Omer—Her Demands—Abortive Negotiations — Interposition of Mr. Wilberforce to avert the threatened Scandal—Queen Caroline in London—She refuses the Concessions proposed by the Government and the Proposals of the House of Commons—Unpopularity of Mr. Wilberforce—Policy of the Queen's Advisers—Public Excitement—Mob round the Queen's Residence—Dissatisfaction of the King . . . . . pp. 27—61

CHAPTER III.

[1820.]

Evidence against Queen Caroline—Divided Opinions respecting her in the House of Lords—Declaration of Lord Grenville—The Bill of Pains and Penalties abandoned—The King dissatisfied with his Ministers—Conversation of Lord Grenville with the King—Ministerial Management of the Queen's Case—Her Conduct after the Conclusion of Proceedings against her—Reaction in the Public Mind—The Queen loses ground in Popular Estimation—Returning Popularity of the King . . . . . pp. 63—103

CHAPTER IV.

[1821.]

Letter from the King to Lord Eldon on Libellous Publications—Claims of the Queen—Lord Castlereagh's Attack on Lord Erskine—Position of the Government—Catholic Emancipation—Family Quarrels—Suggested Junction of the Grenvilles with the Government—Marquis of Buckingham proposed by the Duke of Wellington as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland—Preparations for the Coronation—Negotiations—Influence of "the Lady"—Queen Caroline at the Coronation, pp. 105—186

CHAPTER V.

[1821.]

Effect of Queen Caroline's Illness and Death on the King—His Narrow Escape in the Royal Yacht—His Visit to Ireland—Entry into Dublin—Position of the King's Ministers—George IV. on the Field of Waterloo—The King's visit to his Hanoverian Dominions—Coalitions and Double Negotiation—Political Gossip—A New Club—Dismissal of Sir Robert Wilson from the Army—Public Subscription for him . . . . . pp. 187—219

CHAPTER VI.

[1821.]

The Government — Rumoured Changes — Proposals — Mr. Canning — Negotiations commenced by the Duke of Wellington for the Junction of the Grenvilles with the Ministry—Report of Conversation with Lord Liverpool on the Subject—Proposal of the Government to raise Lord Buckingham to a Duke—Marquis Wellesley as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland — His Opinions on the Catholic Question — Mr. W. C. Plunket on Irish Affairs — Lord Grenville on the proposed Arrangements—Negotiations respecting the Catholic Question—The Marquis of Hastings . . . . . pp. 221—266

CHAPTER VII.

[1822.]

Changes in the Government—Lord Eldon's Dissatisfaction—Mr. Charles Williams Wynn appointed President of the Board of Control — Other Ministerial Arrangements—The King's Speech—Troubles in Ireland — Threatened Attack in Parliament on Mr. Henry Williams Wynn — Lord Grenville on the Finances of the Country — Dean Buckland — Discontent of the Country Gentlemen — Threatened Dissolution of the Government—Dismissal of Sir Benjamin Bloomfield . . . . . pp. 267—300

CHAPTER VIII.

[1822.]

Sir William Knighton—Mr. Canning brings forward the Catholic Question — Opinions respecting Catholic Relief — State of the King's Health — Political Meeting to consider a new Catholic Measure — Marquis Wellesley at the Phœnix Park—Complaints of his Inattention to his Duties as Lord-Lieutenant—Speech of Dr. Phillimore on the Catholic Question — Motion on the Appointment of Mr. Henry W. Wynn—Conduct of Mr. Robert Peel—Libels—Anti-Catholicism in Wales—Ball for the Relief of the Irish—Projected Visit of the King to Scotland . . . . . pp. 301—344

CHAPTER IX.

[1822.]

Sir William Knighton appointed Keeper of the King's Privy Purse—His Sense of Duty sometimes opposed to the King's Instructions—His important Services in lessening the Royal Expenditure—Arrests in Ireland—Canning and Peel—Lamentable Death of the Marquis of Londonderry—Estimate of this Distinguished Statesman—Letter from the King on the Subject—The Royal Visit to Scotland—Sir Walter Scott's Relic—Prospects of the Government—Their Negotiations with Mr. Canning—His Speech at Liverpool—He succeeds the Marquis of Londonderry as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs . . . . . pp. 345—376

CHAPTER X.

[1822.]

Mr. Canning again in the Cabinet—Rumoured Ministerial Arrangements—Mr. Canning offers Mr. Williams Wynn the Speakership of the House of Commons—A Political Ruse—The King at Windsor—The Speaker—Foreign Affairs—Proceedings of the Congress of Verona respecting Spain—Mr. Henry Williams Wynn's proposed Diplomatic Change—Mr. Canning's Under-Secretary of State—Condition of Ireland—M. Villele . . . . . pp. 377—402

CHAPTER XI.

[1823.]

Continental Affairs—Diplomatic Posts—Proposed Ministerial Changes—Mission of Lord Fitzroy Somerset to Spain—State of Ireland—Objects of France—Appointment of Reginald Heber—Increasing Popularity of Mr. Canning—The King's Speech—Trials in Ireland—Mr. Plunket—The Beefsteak Club in Dublin—Objectionable Toast—The Duke of Clarence—Imprudence of Lord Wellesley—The Lord-Lieutenant's Explanation . . . . . pp. 403—436

CHAPTER XII.

[1823.]

New Appointments—Lord Wellesley's Representations respecting the State of Ireland—The Government support the Lord-Lieutenant—Mr. Plunket's Explanations—Illness of the King—The Duke of Wellington's Suggestion—An Irish Question—Triumph of Mr. Plunket—Parliamentary Debates—Quarrel between Mr. Charles W. Wynn and Mr. Peel—The Duke of Wellington's Opinion of Mr. Canning—His Grace a Peace-maker—Boastful Speech attributed to Mr. Pitt . . . . . 437—461

CHAPTER XIII.

[1823.]

Important Debates—Expenses of the Coronation—State of the Peninsula—Mr. Plunket's Disappointment—Condition of Ireland—Despatch from the Lord-Lieutenant—The King of Spain and the Cortes—Mr. Canning in the House of Commons—Lord Nugent's Bill for Restoring the Franchise—Festivities at Carlton House—The Marquis of Hastings—The French in Spain—Lord Eldon—Canning—Peel and Robinson—The Press in India—The King at "The Cottage"—Irving and the Heavenly Pavilion—Policy of Austria—The King in Council—Schisms in the French Cabinet, pp. 463—480

MEMOIRS

OF

THE COURT

OF

GEORGE THE FOURTH.

CHAPTER I.

[1820.]

ALARMING ILLNESS OF THE HEIR APPARENT AT THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE THIRD—DISTURBED STATE OF PUBLIC OPINION—PROJECTED ASSASSINATION OF MINISTERS—CATO STREET CONSPIRACY—DEATH OF THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH—RUMOURED MINISTERIAL CHANGES, AND THREATENED RETURN OF QUEEN CAROLINE—ELEMENTS OF DISCORD—LIBELS AND LIBELLERS—ORDER OF THE GARTER CONFERRED ON THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

CHAPTER I.

A LITTLE before the decease of George III., the heir apparent was in a state of health that made his chance of succession problematical—of long possession of the crown more doubtful still. He was attended by Sir William Knighton, who was in his chamber when intelligence arrived from Windsor of his venerable parent's demise; and we are assured that "The fatal tidings were received by the Prince with a burst of grief that was very affecting."[1] He was quite unable to be present at the funeral, and the Duke of York acted as chief mourner.[2]

The skill and solicitude of George IV.'s confidential physician were rewarded, and the new Sovereign recovered sufficiently to apply himself to the business of government with his customary attention; but from that time Sir William so completely fixed himself in the affections of his patron, that the latter was uneasy if he remained away from the Palace, and was sure to send pressing messages for

[1] Knighton's "Memoirs," p. 88. Edited by his Widow.

[2] Alison's "History of Europe, from the Fall of Napoleon," vol. ii. p. 421.

his return. A letter has been preserved,[1] which indicates that services were rendered by him that were not strictly professional. Indeed, he was often employed as an adviser in affairs of peculiar delicacy and importance, and his judgment and tact in their arrangement were invariably acknowledged and appreciated.

This conclusion of the Regency, though for some time anticipated as a mere matter of course, was accompanied by events of so startling a nature as to cause considerable disquietude in the minds of many good citizens and earnest politicians. A feverish excitement existed among the lower classes, that continually threatened to break out in violent manifestations against the Government; but though the Ministers of the Crown were the principal objects of this ill feeling, it was directed with equal animosity against all wealth and influence; and there can be no doubt that, had the designs of their more enterprizing leaders been realized, a complete revolution little less violent than that which had swept over France more than thirty years before, would have overturned law, property, and order through the length and breadth of the land.

"The expectation and the fear of change" kept the public mind in a state of violent agitation; and a great political party was on the alert to take advantage of any popular movement this effer-

[1] Knighton's "Memoirs," p. 86.

vescence might create. It was well known to various influential partizans that events of unusual gravity were "looming in the distance,"[1] by which they hoped to be able to raise themselves to power. Rumours of a sinister import were in constant circulation; the more alarmed looked hourly for some mischievous demonstration, and the more reckless displayed increasing confidence and audacity. That reports should be circulated of an immediate change of Government, must have been only natural under such circumstances; the wide-spread discontent of the masses of the population, swelling and surging like a storm-driven sea, had nothing else sufficiently prominent to direct itself against, but the authorities who appeared to them responsible for the evils under which they laboured; and those persons who feared, or pretended to fear, the threatened storm, caught at the idea of removing the unpopular Ministers as affording the only chance of re-establishing the public tranquillity. Such, however, had long before been the tactics of opposition, and such, we are afraid, they are likely to remain.

DR. PHILLIMORE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall, Feb. 15, 1820.

My dear Lord,

As your Lordship desired me to write if there was any

[1] "The Government," writes a Cabinet Minister to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, "is in a very strange and, I must acknowledge, in a precarious state."—Lord Sidmouth to Earl Talbot, Pellew's "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 310.

news of any description in circulation, I take up my pen merely to inform you that there is a report most generally disseminated both throughout the West-end of the town and the City, that the Ministers have resigned. Sir W. Scott [Lord Stowell] yesterday, in expressing his apprehension (to an acquaintance of mine) that such an event was in contemplation, said it would not be a partial change, "but a general sweep." Excuse haste.

Ever your obliged and faithful servant,

JOSEPH PHILLIMORE.

P.S.—The Cabinet sat *thirteen* hours on Sunday.

The sweeping change so confidently anticipated did not take place; and probably when it became evident to some of the most daring of the political speculators of the time, that this was not so imminent as they desired, they resolved to expedite it in a fashion that should leave no necessity for a second experiment of the kind.

On the 23rd of February, the loyal citizens of the metropolis were startled by the intelligence of the timely discovery of a plot to assassinate his Majesty's Ministers while they were at dinner in the house of the Earl of Harrowby, Grosvenor Square, and of a sanguinary conflict of the police and military with the conspirators, when attempting to seize the latter at their place of rendezvous, in an obscure thoroughfare near Paddington, called Cato Street. The history of the Thistlewood Conspiracy,[1] as re-

[1] A good account of it may be found in Pellew's "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 312.

lated in the criminal annals of the period, illustrates in a remarkable manner the diseased state of political feeling then existing in England. It was a small copy of the Irish rebellion,—marked by the same cut-throat policy,—having in view a similar overwhelming revolution, with the same absurdly inadequate means. Fortunately for the United Kingdom, the chief actors in both succeeded only in bringing upon themselves the destruction with which they had menaced a powerful Government.

Thistlewood proposed to slaughter the entire Cabinet at once, when assembled at Lord Harrowby's, which was assented to; "for," said he, "as there has not been a dinner for so long, there will no doubt be fourteen or sixteen there; and it will be a rare haul to murder them all together."[1]

The next communication refers to the same incident, as well as to the various rumours then in circulation :—

MARQUIS WELLESLEY TO MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Richmond, Tuesday, Feb. 29, 1820.

MY DEAR LORD,

Not having received any commands from you, and having nothing to communicate beyond the rumours of the day, without any authentic information, I have not lately troubled your Lordship with any letter.

It was unnecessary to state that the stories of my being summoned to the King, &c. &c., were all absolutely false.

[1] Thistlewood's Trial, p. 37. Alison's "Europe," vol. ii. p. 425.

If I had received any such summons, your Lordship would have been fully acquainted with the whole transaction by express from me at the earliest moment.

I believe an attempt was made to confirm the rumours by the circumstance of his Majesty's gracious kindness in answering my inquiries at the moment of his greatest danger, by expresses from Carlton House. My carriage also was in town one day in the highest paroxysm of the supposed squabble; but I happened not to be in it, being confined at home by a cold.

I have not been in town, except to collect some account of the late horrible plot, on the day after the discovery (when I was in the House of Lords about half an hour), for a considerable time, the weather and a cold having concurred to keep me at home.

I know nothing authentic of the quarrel, so much the subject of rumour and noise, nor do I know more of the present designs or future plans. I am at all times at your Lordship's orders, to wait on you whenever you please; the weather is now so much improved, that I can attend you in London any morning that may suit you; but I really have nothing yet to state beyond the contents of my former letters.

Always, my dear Lord,
Yours most sincerely,
WELLESLEY.

In the spring of the year 1821, their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Clarence lost their only child, the infant Princess Elizabeth. Of this long-forgotten branch of the Royal Family, one who was present at her birth says:—"She is christened by the name of Elizabeth Georgiana. I

hope the bairn will live. It came a little too early, and is a very small one at present, but the doctors seem to think it will thrive; and to the ears of your humble servant it appears to be noisy enough to show it has great strength."[1] Her loss affected the King, between whom and the Duke the most lively affection existed; and he wrote to his confidential attendant in the following terms:—

THE KING TO SIR WILLIAM KNIGHTON.

Brighton, March 4, 1821.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

For God's sake come down to me to-morrow morning. The melancholy tidings of the almost sudden death of my poor little niece have just reached me, and have overset me beyond all I can express to you. Poor William's[2] letter, which is all affection, and especially towards you, refers me to you for all the particulars; therefore pray come to me with as little delay as possible. I have not time to add a word more about myself. You will be a great consolation to me.

Ever your most affectionate friend,

G. R.[3]

The first report of the intention of Queen Caroline, as the Princess of Wales was now styled, to return to England, appears to have taken both the King and the Government by surprise; but the latter, in the conviction that they had an overwhelming case against her, would not believe that she was

[1] Twiss's "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 37.

[2] The Duke of Clarence. [3] Knighton's "Memoirs," p. 88.

serious, and took no steps towards putting the result of the Milan investigations into shape.[1]

That everything did not run smoothly between his Majesty and his Ministers, may be inferred from a memorandum made (April 26, 1820) by one of the most influential of them:—

"Our Royal master seems to have got into temper again, as far as I could judge from his conversation with me this morning. He has been pretty well disposed to part with us all, because we would not make additions to his revenue. This we thought conscientiously we could not do in the present state of the country, and of the distresses of the middle and lower orders of the people,—to which we might add, too, that of the higher orders. My own individual opinion was such that I could not bring myself to oppress the country at present by additional taxation for that purpose, and I strictly and firmly acted upon that opinion, when I had every reason to believe that, adhering to it, I should no longer write the letter C. after the name Eldon. I think now the speech, in which he will disavow wishing for any increase, will make him popular, and if times mend, will give him a better chance of fair increase of income than anything else could give him."[2]

The Lord Chancellor, who has not been held in

[1] "Every one," the Duke of Wellington acknowledged, "had his secret persuasion and his wish, that with such a case against her she would never come here."—R. Plumer Ward's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 65.

[2] Twiss's "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 3.

great estimation for disinterestedness or patriotism, is here represented as very nearly making himself a martyr to his sense of public duty; but the cause of Lord Eldon's unusual dissatisfaction with his Sovereign may be gathered from another cotemporary memorandum, dated the following day:—

"The Vice-Chancellor Leach has been trying to root out the Ministry; he has been telling the King that his present Ministers are not standing by him; that he ought to have a divorce. There is a flirtation between Tierney and the King."[1]

The Opposition lost no time in endeavouring to take advantage of the difficulty presented by the apprehended return of the Queen; and the "flirtation" not proceeding favourably, their hostility became more earnest. Public opinion, indeed, was showing itself in many curious ways. "The town here is employed," writes the Lord Chancellor, "in nothing but speculation whether her Majesty will or will not come. Great bets are laid about it. Some people have taken fifty guineas, undertaking in lieu of them to pay a guinea a-day till she comes, so sure are these that she will come within fifty days; others, again, are taking less than fifty guineas, undertaking to pay a guinea a-day till she comes, so sure are they that she will not come; others assert that they know she will come, and that she will find her way into Westminster Abbey and Westminster Hall on the Coronation, in spite of all

[1] "Wilberforce's Life," by his Sons, vol. v. p. 54.

opposition. I retain my old opinion that she will not come, *unless she is insane.*"[1]

A change of Ministry, Lord Dudley[2] assures us, was talked about more than usual; but, as the Opposition were obliged to confess that they would find great difficulty in establishing a Government, the existing Administration held a tolerably secure tenancy.

An Order in Council was issued for omitting the Queen's name from the Church Service, and other signs appeared, indicating a desire to withhold from her her queenly title. This made a temper, never remarkably tractable, not to be controlled by the dictates of prudence; the old spirit manifested itself in its most spirited form; and she lost no time in letting the world know that she was returning to England to obtain justice for her wrongs. Those who thought they knew her best, considered that vindictive feelings influenced her resolution, and that, with a full knowledge of the inflammable state of public opinion in the British Empire, she had determined on some great work of mischief against the peace of the kingdom and the security of its ruler.

At this period there were many elements of discord in the social community that were acting

[1] Twiss's "Life of Eldon," vol. ii. p. 5.

[2] "Letters," p. 251. Alison states that attempts were made to form a new Ministry, with Lord Wellesley at the head—"History of Europe," vol. ii. p. 457. This, however, as has been shown (*ante* p. 9), is incorrect.

upon a large and dangerous portion of it, to the prejudice of the Government.[1] Besides the Thistlewood gang, justice was about to dispose of Mr. Orator Hunt and his myrmidons, then awaiting their trial. Sir Charles Wolseley, a baronet, and Joseph Harrison, a preacher, were under prosecution for uttering seditious speeches.[2] Sir Francis Burdett —a more popular tribune—was also at variance with the laws for a scandalous attack on Ministers; in short, every day seemed to bring to light some source of mischief which could not fail to add to the uneasiness of the responsible servants of the Crown. A general election stirred up other noxious ingredients, and during the spring of the year everything seemed to betoken a coming convulsion. At this time the following communication was written:—

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

March 29, 1820.

Hunt's conviction is beyond my hope, though it would certainly have been no easy matter for any jury to acquit him, even under the charge such as it is. His motion for

[1] Lord Sidmouth's intelligence led him to expect daily a revolutionary movement.—"Life," by Dean Pellew, vol. iii. p. 325.

[2] The minister of religion exceeded the democratic baronet in the violence of his denunciations of the ruling powers, a fair example of which may be found in the following *morceau*:—"Kings, princes, dukes, lords, commons, parliaments, archbishops, bishops, prelates, rectors, high-constables, constables, sheriffs, deputy-constables and bailiffs, are all corrupt, and the time is near at hand when they will be upset. The people should rise *en masse* to suppress such a tyrannical Government as the one of this country, and it will not be long, but very soon, that it shall be overturned, and many a bloody battle may be fought, and many a one incarcerated in prison, before it shall be accomplished."

a new trial is, I imagine, nothing more than the sort of last resource at which defeated men, whether at elections or trials, always love to catch. It would have been a dreadful thing indeed if it had been established by the result of that trial that the Manchester meeting was, under all its circumstances, a legal assembly.

Alarming as might be considered the aspect of domestic affairs, the Government, so far from betraying apprehension, carried on the business of the country with untiring vigilance and decision. Hunt and five of his associates, after a long trial, were on the 23rd of March, at York, found guilty of unlawfully assembling and inciting to hatred of the Government. On the same day, Sir Francis Burdett was found guilty of uttering a seditious libel. On the 10th of April, Sir Charles Wolseley and Mr. Joseph Harrison were also found guilty of sedition. The most guilty of the Cato Street heroes made their last public appearance at the Old Bailey on the 1st of May; the remainder were expatriated to New South Wales. Thus the supremacy of the law was vindicated; but there still existed in the more populous districts feelings inimical to the authorities, that might be restrained by coercive demonstrations, but which only waited a favourable season for bursting through all control: and as, on the 20th of April, Mr. Denman and Mr. Brougham had been acknowledged by the Lord Chancellor, from his seat in the Court of Chancery, the Queen's Solicitor and Attorney-General, the

discontented took heart, and saw in this admission of the Queen's position, a prognostication of the struggle that was to create for them the opportunity for which they were waiting.

The Court of the Monarch did not appear more apprehensive than his Ministers. A day was fixed for the Coronation; and among those who would have to assist in the ceremonial, no one ventured to hint on the possibility of the Queen having any position in it. On the 3rd of May, the King received addresses at Carlton House; and on the 10th, his Majesty held his first Levee since his accession to the throne, at which nearly 1800 persons of distinction were present, who testified their attachment to his person in a manner that must have left him little to desire. It was known that his consort intended to agitate the empire from end to end, and her arrival was looked for in a few weeks; but the families of the great political party that formed and supported the Government, betrayed no uneasiness—indeed, the most influential regarded, or affected to regard, the coming struggle with a quiet disdain, that evinced their confidence in the loyalty and good sense of the nation. "His Majesty's Opposition," however, talked and looked very differently;—the Democratic party were vehement in their denunciations of the Queen's wrongs, and the leading Whigs began to come forward prominently as champions of her rights. This is about the date of the following communications:—

RIGHT HON. THOS. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Square, May 4, 1820.

MY DEAR LORD B——,

I have but little news to tell you. The general arrangement of the Civil List, by replacing it as it stood in 1816, is so much better a bargain for the public than I had expected, that I for one am well contented with it; and if report be true, it was obtained by nothing but the most determined refusal of the Ministers to do more. Still, however, I understand that the Admiralty Droits are unpopular enough to threaten the Government with a good deal of embarrassment; for undoubtedly, if they have bargained with the King for the statement of 1816, when he had the Admiralty Droits, they cannot in equity deprive him of that part of his bargain. Brougham seems by his speech to have conceived the notion of giving the King *compensation* for them; but it seems to me to be but a bad bargain for the public, to make them, under the present pressure, purchase out a remote contingent future revenue, which can arise only out of a war that no Power in Europe is rich enough to make, any more than ourselves.

Nobody knows what Brougham's motion will be to-morrow, or what course the Opposition will take on Monday. I hope none of our friends will disturb an arrangement which I believe the Government had some merit and great difficulty in reducing to its present form.

The Coronation, which Lord G. Seymour told me ten days ago was suspended, is now again in expectation, according to general belief; it has revived in common report, because I fancy the Earl Marshal has just been ordered to have an estimate made of the necessary expenses attending it in his department; but it does not follow from that estimate that the ceremony will take place. I think

it more probable that it will be put off, because the King will not like it unless it be expensive, and Van knows not how to pay for it if it is. Clive told me yesterday, that three naval peers are about to be made—Sir W. Young, Warren, and Saumarez. This looks as if an Accession List was preparing; but I have heard of no others. It seems now understood that the whole Militia will be called out. Manchester, as Lady Grosvenor tells me, is quieter; as Harriet writes, is as bad as ever. Scotland is still only quiet from the military force there, but the temper is said to be as bad as ever.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, May 8, 1820.

My dear Lord,

We had a heavy debate last night,—Tierney very able, and Huskisson good,—but an evident indisposition of the House to the subject; and the division on the part of Government very bad—only 99 majority. They cannot get attendance, and the report of dissension on the part of the King and his Ministers is no doubt the cause of this; notwithstanding, however, I am quite sure there can be no change, and a very short time must commit the Opposition with the King on the subject of the Queen. Tierney last night touched upon it, and complained that she was not recognised by the Bill or Civil List, and yet acknowledged by the Lord Chancellor of England. You will see hardly any addition of names to the Opposition, or any increased numbers, but the *feature* is the want of attendance of the Government friends. Everybody believes the report of Denison having stated to his nephew his determination to disinherit him if he accepts the new situation. We must

see the result of this in a very short time, should it be the case.—The ladies are not to walk at the Coronation, and it is to be on the cheapest scale. No dinner. The estimate is called 150,000*l.* All your members were present yesterday, and if we had voted against the Government, only see how we would have diminished their numbers.—Mr. Chard is in a peck of troubles. He has not got the address, without which it is useless to go to the Levee.—I was glad of Brougham's mention of Lady Grenville's pension (it certainly was not an attack), because it produced an authorized declaration of its surrender, which was received with great applause.

You have no conception with what attention Baring was heard in a full house last night, when for an hour or so he described the commercial state of England in the most lamentable terms. It had great effect.—The King never shows himself. He has never been out of Carlton House.—Lady C——[1] goes to him of an evening, and he has had his usual dinners of Sir Carnaby Haggerston, Forester, and two or three of this description. His language is only about the Coronation and Lady C——: very little of the state of the country.

I will keep this open, in case anything occurs.

Ever, &c.,

W. H. F.

P.S.—I have just seen Chard, who is in despair about the address; but he has determined, by my advice, to defer his presentation to Wednesday se'nnight, in case we hear nothing of the address to-morrow morning.

Lady Conyngham.

RIGHT HON. THOS. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Square, May 9, 1820.

MY DEAR LORD B——,

The Opposition, you see, continues to muster in their original force of 160 upon their great questions, and though they do not increase, it seems to me that there is either an indifference or a disinclination in many to give any active support to Government; for while the Ministers produce only their ordinary numbers, their antagonists always are able to command their full force,—and if that disproportion continues, it will not do, particularly under the alarmed, and restless, and fearful circumstances of the country. You see, by the loud cheering of Baring, how strongly the impression prevails in the House that the present evils demand great and vigorous remedies; and though, perhaps, I may be less sanguine in the application of these theories, I see plainly that the House and country are so alarmed as to call for great talents and great vigour in their Ministers—much greater than they are likely to find—for the only new feature of yesterday's debate on the part of the Administration was to show that, upon a commercial question, the head of the Board of Trade is in opinion with Baring, while that of his colleagues is against him. This is a wretched beginning on a topic of such overruling importance.—The Coronation stands for the 1st August. I hear of no more new peers yet. I think the less you hear of the *man* the better: you should only have to do with the *master*. Lord Arundel told me yesterday that they do not go yet, if at all. Sir Francis[1] at Lillies is really the *ne plus ultra*!!!

[1] Sir Francis Burdett.

RIGHT HON. THOS. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Square, May 11, 1820.

MY DEAR LORD B——,

I met my brother this morning, to take our new oaths at the Council Office, and showed him your letter. I was glad to see in it that you are gradually getting strength, and was surprised to see that the two old uncles had both written to you at the same time, on the same subject, without any previous communication had between us.

Lord Harrowby told my brother that it was the intention in every respect to follow the same ceremonial at this Coronation that took place at the last, and this should be good authority; but, on the other hand, so general a rumour and expectation prevails of the banquet being curtailed, that one scarce knows what to believe. But my own opinion is, that Lord H. is correct, and that it will be neither more nor less than the last. Public conversation supposes four Dukes—viz, my neighbour, yourself, Lord Hastings, and Lord Winchester. The only Commoner, I hear, is Sir — Liddell, who, I am well assured, says that it is promised to him. The other names, I presume, grow out of public talk only; at least, my neighbours told me they had heard nothing of it two or three days ago.

To give the reader an idea of the state of our public streets in the metropolis at this period from turbulent mobs, we quote the following anecdote:—"A very large family party happened to be assembled in the house, and the garrison being thus strong, it sallied forth, headed by Lord Exmouth, and attacked the assailants, who, disconcerted possibly by this unusual system of tactics, instantly

dispersed. One prisoner was taken—a juvenile printer—who, by his insolence, which was consummate, obtained for himself the glory of a night's imprisonment instead of a lecture." The third attack occurred on a Wednesday ensuing, while Lord Sidmouth was attending the Cabinet dinner. It was feeble, and of brief duration; and as no further annoyance was anticipated by the police officers, the narrator, who had been left in charge, retired to his lodgings in the same street. Shortly afterwards he heard the mob returning, and hastened back to his Lordship's door, against which the watchman had placed himself. Before, however, they could gain admittance, the Philistines were upon them, filling the whole doorway, and hemming them up in the entrance. At this moment a carriage dashed rapidly down the street, drew up at the door, and Lord Sidmouth exclaimed from within it, "Let me out—I must get out!" But another and a commanding voice replied, "You shall not alight —drive on!" and instantly the carriage bounded forward and disappeared, but not before the glass of the window nearest the speaker had been shivered to atoms by a stick or stone. In a moment afterwards, at a signal given, the mob dispersed, leaving the watchman and his companion the only occupants of the street. In a few minutes the same carriage returned, escorted by a small party of the Life Guards. It was that of the Duke of Wel-

lington, and contained his Grace, Lord Eldon, and Lord Sidmouth."[1]

The next communication, from a member of the Royal Family, refers to a much-valued distinction which was conferred on his Royal Highness's correspondent. It shows also the kind feelings which this amiable Prince entertained for him :—

THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Gloucester House, Sunday Evening, May 28.

MY DEAR LORD,

I hasten to return your Lordship my best thanks for your friendly attention in immediately notifying to me an event that, I trust, you are well assured must afford me the truest gratification. To the Garter you are so justly entitled that I have real satisfaction in seeing you receive that Order; but it is particularly gratifying to me to know that it comes *direct* to you from the King, and that this distinction is conferred upon you unsolicited, the spontaneous act of his Majesty. Of my sentiments towards yourself I hope you are so well convinced that I need not add that I shall attend the Chapter to-morrow with the sincerest pleasure.

In offering to you my warmest congratulations, I am happy to renew to you an assurance of the very great regard and high esteem with which

I am always, my dear Lord,

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM FREDERICK.

[1] Pellew's "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 328.

The following refers to the same subject, and is equally creditable to the writer:—

THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Richmond, Monday, May 29, 1820.

MY DEAR LORD,

I went to Carlton House to-day to attend a Chapter of the Garter, at which I understood that I should have had the satisfaction of seeing the King invest your Lordship with his own Garter, vacated by his accession to the Crown.

Upon my arrival, I found that the Chapter had been postponed; and as the King goes to Windsor this evening for the Ascot races, I suppose some days will elapse before the Chapter can take place. I was informed, however, from good authority, that the King will offer the Garter to your Lordship.

Sincerely hoping that you will not decline the offer, I shall be anxious to attend on the day of your investiture; and I should be much obliged to you if you would apprise me of it as soon as you know it. I shall, of course, receive the usual summons; but I should grieve to be out of the way when it might reach this place.

Always, my dear Lord,

Yours most sincerely,

WELLESLEY.

CHAPTER II.

[1820.]

ARRIVAL OF QUEEN CAROLINE AT ST. OMER—HER DEMANDS—ABORTIVE NEGOTIATIONS — INTERPOSITION OF MR. WILBERFORCE TO AVERT THE THREATENED SCANDAL—QUEEN CAROLINE IN LONDON—SHE REFUSES THE CONCESSIONS PROPOSED BY THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PROPOSALS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—UNPOPULARITY OF MR. WILBERFORCE—POLICY OF THE QUEEN'S ADVISERS—PUBLIC EXCITEMENT—MOB ROUND THE QUEEN'S RESIDENCE — DISSATISFACTION OF THE KING.

CHAPTER II.

On the 1st of June, Caroline of Brunswick arrived at St. Omer, intending to embark at Calais without delay for England. At once she showed her disposition to carry matters with a high hand. She wrote an imperious letter to the Earl of Liverpool, to prepare a palace in London for her reception; another to Lord Melville, to send a yacht to carry her across the Channel to Dover; and a third to the Duke of York, repeating both demands, and complaining of the treatment she had received. Two days later, Mr. Brougham, her chief legal adviser, arrived, and at the same time Lord Hutchinson, with a proposition from the King, offering her 50,000*l.* a year for life if she would remain on the Continent, and surrender the title of Queen of England. She was in no mood to listen to reason, and indignantly rejected the offer.

The rumour of the Queen's approach created extraordinary excitement among all classes in every part of the kingdom. The Lord Chancellor prophetically says, "If she can venture, she is the most courageous lady I ever heard of. The mischief, if she does come, will be infinite. At first,

she will have extensive popularity with the multitude; in a few short months or weeks, she will be ruined in the opinion of all the world."[1] "One can't help admiring her spirit," observes the moral Wilberforce, "though I fear she has been very profligate."[2] From such a man there might have been expected a severer judgment on her immorality, and a more subdued appreciation of her daring; but this evidence of "spirit" was an appeal to the English people which many a grave father of a family found it impossible to resist. Mr. Wilberforce, however, much to his credit, was earnestly desirous of lessening the threatened scandal, and diminishing the public commotion it was likely to create. He writes in his Diary,—"When, therefore, Lord Castlereagh had made a motion to refer the papers to the consideration of a Secret Committee, I endeavoured to interpose a pause, during which the two parties might have an opportunity of contemplating coolly the prospect before them. Accordingly I sounded the House; my proposition was immediately adopted, and a pause was made, with a declaration that its purpose was to give opportunity for a private settlement."[3]

As no Royal yacht was likely to be at her disposal, Queen Caroline lost no time in embarking, crossed the sea safely, pursued her route to the metropolis

[1] Twiss's "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 3.
[2] "Wilberforce's Life," by his Sons, vol. v. p. 55.
[3] Ibid.

through Canterbury, and, passing through vociferous crowds, on the 7th, in default of the palace she had ordered, took up her residence with a City alderman, who had placed himself among the foremost of her champions. From this time the agitation in the public mind hourly increased, till it began to assume a most threatening aspect. Nothing was left undone by the Queen to ingratiate herself with the people; and, as a natural result, she never appeared publicly without creating intense excitement. When in the streets, her horses were taken from her carriage, and she was drawn in triumph, by scores of shouting adherents, through a clamorous mob. Before the alderman's house in South Audley Street stood hour after hour a shouting myriad, excited to a pitch of frenzy to which no description can do justice, by the appearance on the balcony of a stout lady, in a large hat surmounted by a plume of feathers.

On the day of her arrival in town, the King sent a message to the Houses of Lords and Commons, to the effect that the step taken by the Queen had forced him to bring before the consideration of Parliament, certain papers detailing her conduct since her departure from England. The Queen, on the same day, sent a message by Mr. Brougham, in her usual high tone, expressing a desire for an open investigation. The friends of both parties were striving to spare the country the threatened exposure; and on the 9th, the Queen so far complied

with the suggestions of her most sensible advisers as to write a moderate letter to Lord Liverpool, expressing her inclination to consider any proposition the Government were disposed to make in behalf of their Sovereign. Communications were exchanged; the Ministers repeated their liberal offer, and the Queen repeated her indignant refusal. How this sad business was felt at the period may be gathered from the letters that follow. But the first expresses a belief, then generally gaining ground, of a change in the Government in favour of the Grenville party. It would appear as if a proposal of the kind had been submitted to the head of the family, but the sensible advice here given must at once have put an end to such a negotiation:—

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, 12 at night, June 11.

We have both talked this thing over as fully as our materials enabled us to do, and it is our decided opinion that the King has, and can have in the present moment, only the alternative of putting himself fairly and fully into the hands of one or other of the two great parties; and that it would be deceiving him, and trifling with a most awful state of things, if anybody undertook to be useful to him on any other footing, or even gave rise to the delay of an hour in deciding on that alternative by countenancing hopes of any third arrangement.

The House of Commons is totally unmanageable in any such view. The whole weight of the Ministers there, com-

bining their aid as they now do, is, as you see, hardly sufficient to carry on the ordinary public business from day to day. I very much question whether all the weight that the Opposition could unite for the same purpose, if the task were committed into their hands, would be much, if at all, more adequate to it. What hopes, then, could a third party entertain of doing this in opposition to both?

I can easily see in what course your assistance and support might be very useful indeed to strengthen his Government, into whatever hands he may finally determine to commit it; and in the present state of things I should, as far as my own wishes went, be most anxious that, in whatever hands it shall be vested, it should possess whatever of strength and efficiency it can receive. But as for undertaking any principal or leading part in the formation of a new Government, to the exclusion of the most considerable persons in this, and of the whole of the other party (who will doubtless on this occasion act with perfect union and concurrence among themselves), I hold the success impossible, and the undertaking much too desperate to be reconciled to any just sense of prudence or duty. And if the fact be so, it is most important that he should be as speedily, and as distinctly as possible, apprized that so it is. And you and Charles would much injure your own reputation and weight by appearing to tamper with a case in which you cannot be of any real use.

I do not wonder that he feels hurt at Canning's speech, such as it is reported; but this is not the first occasion, nor will it be the last, in which the Sovereign of this country must suppress such feelings, and bear with the faults of those who, on the whole, taking all things together, can serve him most usefully; and the manner in which the Opposition have of late years, most unfortunately for them-

selves and for the country, been drawn on to mix themselves up with projects of reform, and with the countenance and defence of reformers of the wildest description, seems to me, I regret to say it, to throw that balance at this time wholly on the side of their opponents.

I do not know that I can add more. My brother returns to town early to-morrow morning; and you will not wonder, knowing my feelings, that all that is now passing is with me a decisive reason for not coming near it unless commanded so to do, and then it would only be for the purpose of expressing these opinions.

Paris at this period, it is evident, was scarcely in a less excitable state than London:—

HON. COLONEL STANHOPE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Hotel Meurice, June 11, 1820.

MY DEAR LORD BUCKINGHAM,

Paris is in a strange state,—more resembling a town in a state of siege than the most gadding capital; but, as far as the exterior appearance can be the guide, I cannot see why the Government should have assembled nearly 25,000 troops round Paris, the riots having been confined to the students of the *écoles* and the *gardes de corps*, the people, *proprement dit*, taking no part and showing no interest. The violence of the Chambers is sufficiently seen in the papers, and their whole time is occupied in hearing different members relate their own adventures on the preceding day. The ultra-Ultras have returned to their foolish language, which ruined them in '14 and '15, about having a general tax to reimburse them for their lost property. They might as well think of dividing France. The other party, of course, keep pace. Two days ago, some French

ladies on the Boulevards were obliged, by a body of men looking like *le bourgeoisie*, to get out of their carriages and cry "*Vive l'egalité.*" One of the worst circumstances is the distinction which has been made between *Le Roi et la Charte*, which last year was the watchword of the Royalists, and is now divided into the *mots de ralliement* of the two parties; and when the one cries *A bas la Charte*, others have been found rash enough to answer *A bas les Bourbons*. The Royalists are universally anxious for the double electoral colleges; their opponents will not give up the direct election; and the amendment which was carried the other day is a sort of *mezzo termine*, as the 170 new members are to be elected by the double colleges, and the *remplacants* by the old law. There was a considerable riot on Friday night, in which Oudinot was rode over, and several people badly wounded; one only killed. The troops have shown the greatest steadiness, and evince rather an anxiety than an unwillingness to act. The Jacobins are, I am told, as much depressed by this as the Ultras are elated. Madame de Flahaut is here, acting the French Lady J——; and to you I need say no more.

I am in a great fright about the Queen. What could make the Government employ Lord H——, who seems to have committed himself and employers most lamentably? She will, I fear, have a tremendous party of many well-disposed, good, moral men, as well as of all those who hate the King and the Government. If you have leisure, I should be very grateful for a word or two on this.

Ever affectionately yours,

J. W. STANHOPE.

The negotiation between the King's Ministers and the Queen's legal advisers was not rendered fruitless by any fault of the former. Wilberforce

acknowledges that "The concessions made by the King's servants, as Mr. Brougham afterwards declared in the House of Commons, were various and great. The name and rights of a Queen were granted to her Majesty without reserve—any recognition of which had formerly been carefully avoided. A Royal yacht, a frigate, &c., were offered. It was agreed that her name and rank should be notified at the Court either of Rome or Milan, the capitals of the countries in which she had expressed her intention to reside; and that an address should be presented to the Queen, no less than another to the King, to thank her Majesty for having acceded to the wish of the House of Commons."[1]

Wilberforce was very earnest, sending his son with a letter to the King, in which he entreated him to restore the Queen's name to the Liturgy,[2] and venturing to prophesy something very like a civil war should this concession be refused. On this point, however, his Majesty was intractable, and the negotiator met with anything but cordial co-operation from his own party, of whom he says: "Opposition seem all disposed to take up the Queen's cause on party principles. Alas!"[3] Subsequently he implies where he met with obstacles; "Tierney, &c., ill-natured, yet Castlereagh gave way."

[1] "Life," vol. v. p. 56.

[2] The Queen perpetrated one of her characteristic jests when this question was being furiously debated: "The praying," she observed, "makes me very hungry, and when I am in the Liturgy I shall be famished."

[3] Ibid. p. 58.

In a discussion on the subject in the House of Commons, he thus refers to the principal speakers: "Burdett, violent and bitter, but very able; Tierney, mischievous; Denman, strong and straightforward; Brougham, able; Canning, clever, but not letting himself out."

A deputation, of which Wilberforce was the head, proceeded from the House of Commons to the Queen, dressed in full Court costume; but her Majesty's turbulent admirers did not appreciate their good intentions, and they were roughly greeted by the mob. The reception they met with from the Queen was not much more courteous. Her answer was a refusal. "Her manner was extremely dignified," observes the principal negotiator, "but very stern and haughty." In a letter which he wrote at the time, he gives all the details of the question,[1] from which it is clear that the members of Government had agreed to resign their offices if the restoration of the Queen's name to the Liturgy was carried against them in the House of Commons; and that, seeing the improbability of obtaining this demand, the Queen would have accepted an equivalent proposed by the Government, had not some sinister influence been exercised which brought about her refusal. Mr. Wilberforce shared the general fate of peace-makers in getting terribly abused; but he evidently had the authority of the Queen's most able counsellor for the steps he took.

[1] Letter to Samuel Roberts, Esq., "Life," vol. v. p. 62.

"She will accede to your address," he wrote on the 22nd of June, "I pledge myself."[1]

Cobbett published a letter addressed to Mr. Wilberforce, made up of declamation and invective, in the style that then took the public taste. This composition is described as "very clever, but very mischievous, and full of falsehoods." He was attacked so frequently, and with such violence, by the Queen's partisans, that it forced him to exclaim, "What a lesson it is to a man not to set his heart on low popularity, when, after forty years' disinterested public service, I am believed to be a perfect rascal!"[2]

He complained bitterly of the conduct of the leaders of Opposition. Their language to the Queen, especially that of Lord Grey, Mr. Tierney, and Sir Francis Burdett, was, "Oh! you may be sure you never can be prosecuted,"—thereby, as he acknowledges, "taking away what must doubtless have most powerfully enforced her consent. Then no sooner had she refused, and the prosecution goes forward, than they say, Government never should have admitted a compromise at all, but have prosecuted without hesitation."[3]

"She seems," writes Lord Dudley, "to have been advised by persons that are resolved to play the deepest possible game, and care little to what risk they expose her, provided they have a chance of

[1] Letter to Samuel Roberts, Esq., "Life," vol. v. p. 65.
[2] "Wilberforce's Life," vol. v. p. 68. [3] Ibid. p. 69.

turning out the Government, or perhaps of overthrowing the monarchy. I do not think that it is Brougham's doing."[1] "The people," confesses Cobbett, "as far as related to the question of guilt or innocence, did not care a straw."[2] Their leaders cared still less:

> "Careless of fate, they took their way,
> Scarce caring who might win the day;
> Their booty was secure."

"If her innocence were proved," observes a popular historian, "they would gain a triumph over the King, force upon him a wife whom he could not endure, overturn his Ministers, and perhaps shake the monarchy; if her guilt, they would gain the best possible ground for declaiming on the corruption which prevailed in high places, and the monstrous nature of those institutions which gave persons of such character the lead in society."[3]

The excitement increased as the arrangements for the Queen's trial became known. Lord John Russell published a letter addressed to Mr. Wilberforce, on the subject, urging him again to attempt an arrangement; but he had had enough of interfering in such a business, and declined to take the post assigned him, though the writer expressed his opinion that in his hands was perhaps the fate of the country. He was as anxious as ever to do good, but did not see how it could be done. His opinion of the

[1] "Letters," p. 255. [2] "Life of George IV." p. 425.
[3] Alison's "Europe," vol. ii. p. 549.

Queen did not improve, in consequence of the "spirit" she continued to display, which he now felt inclined to describe in more appropriate language:—"I feel deeply the evil," he writes in his Diary, "that so bad a woman as I fear she is, should carry the victory by sheer impudence (if she is guilty), and assume the part of a person deeply injured."[1]

Other well-meaning persons were equally anxious for an interposition; indeed, the King was obliged to send a message to one who desired an audience, with this object in view, "that he never talked on political subjects with any but his Ministers."[2]

Another cotemporary Diarist goes to the root of the evil:—"Had some conversation with Tierney, who looked serious and down. He said everything was worse and worse out of doors, and he saw no remedy. I observed, the only remedy, the only possibility of things returning to their former state was a rebellion, and the troops standing by us, and quelling it with a high hand. He replied, that was the disease. I said, neither he nor I should live to see society where it had been and ought to be; to which he assented. I have no doubt he is sincere, yet he and his party are the real authors of the spirit we deplore."[3]

"Alas!" writes Wilberforce in his Diary, "surely we never were in such a scrape. The bulk of the

[1] "Life," vol. v. p. 77. [2] Ibid. p. 78.
[3] Phipps's "Memoirs of R. P. Ward," vol. ii. p. 61.

people, I grant, are run mad; but then it was a species of insanity on which we might have reckoned, because we know their prejudices against foreigners; their being easily led away by appeals to their generous feelings; and then the doses with which they are plied, are enough to intoxicate much stronger heads than most of theirs."[1]

"The middling as well as the higher orders," says another observer, "are pretty well acquainted with her present Majesty's conduct in foreign countries; but I am told that the common people are still in the dark, and disposed to espouse her cause; more, however, out of hatred to the King than out of regard for her."[2]

Attempts were made to gain over the military, which were not entirely unsuccessful; one of the regiments of Foot Guards, quartered in the Mews Barracks, Charing Cross, exhibited such decided symptoms of having been tampered with, that the Duke of Wellington was sent for, and he at once ordered them off to Portsmouth. "The night before the last division marched," says a respectable authority, "a formidable mob assembled round the barracks at Charing Cross, calling the soldiers within to come out and join them."[3] They were only subsequently dispersed by a troop of the 2nd Life Guards.

Some of the more respectable leaders of Opposi-

[1] "Life," vol. v. p. 78. [2] Lord Dudley's "Letters," p 242.
[3] "Sidmouth's Life," by Pellew, vol. iii. p. 330. Alison's "Europe," vol. ii. p. 461.

tion, though they supported the Queen, had no heart in the cause.

"Lord ——" (we learn from another authority), "whom I always look upon as a most honest man, said it was rather hard upon him to have to present her petitions, but he could not refuse, being so intimate with Brougham. But they were brought to him at a minute's notice, and he knew nothing about, consequently could not support them. In the present instance, he thought she was taken in, in pressing for trial within four-and-twenty hours. She thought we would not take her at her word, and might bully, as she had done before; that she was a bold, dangerous, impudent woman, as full of revenge as careless of crime, and that if we did not take care, might play the part of Catherine the Second, who, by means of the Guards, murdered her husband and usurped the throne."[1]

The nobleman whose opinions have here been preserved was most probably Lord Dacre, who, in his place in the House of Lords, presented more than one petition from the Queen. One also was presented by Lord Auckland. Another of the Queen's partisans in the other House appears to have entertained similar sentiments:—"Walked with Sir —— ——. He said he had no doubt that the Queen was guilty, but would never vote for the Bill, as unconstitutional; at the same time, ready

[1] Phipps's "Memoirs of Robert Plumer Ward," vol. ii. p. 56.

to admit that Ministers had proved such a case as perfectly justified them in bringing it forward."[1]

A description of the sort of satellites that followed the Queen's movements when she went abroad, or surrounded her dwelling while she remained at home, is preserved in the postscript of a letter from Mr. Wilberforce to Hannah More, repeating the observations of a friend who had ventured to approach the Queen's residence. He describes her retainers as "a most shabby assemblage of quite the lowest of the people, about fifty in number, who every now and then kept calling out 'Queen, Queen!' and several times, once in about a quarter of an hour, she came out of one window of a balcony and Alderman Wood at the other, and she bowed to them; her obeisance, of course, being met by augmented acclamations. My friend," adds Mr. Wilberforce, "entered into conversation with a person present who argued for the natural equality of man, and that any other of the people present had as good right to be King as George the Fourth."[2]

The Duke of Wellington at this period took an anxious share in the proceedings against the Queen. "We fell upon the general situation of things," relates a confidential friend of his Grace, "which the Duke allowed was almost as bad as could be; nor could he see the remedy, if the upper and

[1] Phipps's "Memoirs of Robert Plumer Ward," vol. ii. p. 58.
[2] "Life," vol. v. p. 72.

middle ranks would not stir. But all," he continued, with some sadness as well as indignation, "seem struck with panic—ourselves and all; and if the country is lost, it will be through our own cowardice. Everything," said he—"audacity and insolence on one side, and tameness on ours. We go to the House seemingly on purpose to be insulted; the Opposition know it, and act accordingly." I said, "I feared it was particularly so in the House of Commons, where the Ministerial bench, with the exception of Lord Castlereagh, seemed like victims."[1]

The principal Ministers went in daily danger of their lives. Lord Sidmouth never drove out without a case of loaded pistols on the seat of the carriage, ready for instant use;[2] and when either of them was recognised in the public streets, he was sure to be greeted by groans and hisses, and sometimes with more formidable missiles.

The attempt to induce the Queen to adopt a more rational course, is here referred to:—

SIR BENJAMIN BLOOMFIELD TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Carlton House, June 20, 1820.

MY DEAR LORD,

As yet there is no certain information of the precise course to be taken by Mr. Wilberforce. I, however, collect that he has no intention to weaken the position of the

[1] Phipps's "Memoirs of Ward," vol. ii. p. 63.
[2] "Life," by Dean Pellew, vol. iii. p. 330.

Government, nor the basis, on the part of the King, upon which the late negotiation has broken off. The object, therefore, is to maintain that basis which was considered as the only safeguard to the preservation of all that's dear to man. To attain this there seems, under the present state of the public mind, no alternative but investigation, with as much publicity as the House can be induced to give to the question.

I need not reiterate to your Lordship the sense which is entertained of the affectionate attachment manifested by your Lordship in this most painful transaction.

With great respect, I have the honour to be,

My dear Lord,

Your Lordship's obliged and obedient humble Servant,

B. BLOOMFIELD.

But Caroline of Brunswick would not have been. Caroline of Brunswick had she suffered this well-meant intervention to influence her purpose. The sad business, therefore, proceeded in the saddest possible way:—

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

June 27, 1820.

All speculation is at fault in attempting to follow these daily changes of plans and operations.

Certainly, it is far more convenient and more becoming to let this matter be first investigated in the House of Lords. But how this is to be reconciled to the present state of the business in the House of Commons, it seems difficult to imagine; but by this time that difficulty will

have been solved in one way or another, and I need not trouble myself about it.

As to popular impressions, the only way by which they can now be counteracted, is by bringing the matter as soon as possible into some regular form of proceeding.

What is to result from all this, it is impossible to conjecture; but he must be sanguine indeed who can hope that it will turn to good.

RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, June 28, 1820.

MY DEAR LORD B——,

When I came here I found an entire concurrence of opinion as to the extreme folly of Ministers pressing on the Secret Committee in the House of Lords, after they had pledged themselves in the House of Commons to bring forward a charge upon their own responsibility; I was therefore much gratified to see in your letter, just received, that if there was a question upon that subject, you should vote against the Secret Committee, though if the Committee were appointed, you might in that case continue your name upon it. The proceeding is become so odious and unpopular, that the general prejudice against it is in itself great ground of objection to it; and as the Ministers have already taken the charge upon their own responsibility, it seems now likely to answer no other end than that of furnishing to their adversaries a fund of clamour and of invective, on a topic by which, while Ministers gain nothing, they must lose much. But by this time the question must be already decided, and therefore it is useless to pursue it. If the Committee is appointed, and if you do attend it, I am sure you will in that case feel the absolute necessity of your declining any confidential communication, either on

foot or *on horseback,* with any person not upon that Commission, in reference to the business of it. Even the conversation of the table, and the ears of those who sit at it with you, must on every account be most cautiously guarded upon this peculiar topic. You must not start at these suggestions; you know the affectionate motives that prompt them; and nothing but the extreme importance of the nicest attention to them, under your particular position, could have called for them both from Lord G—— and me.

I would not unnecessarily prolong this letter, because you have enough to think of; but I feel confident that the more you reflect upon your own position, the more you must be confirmed in the persuasion that while, on the one hand, you have thought it necessary to withdraw from the Opposition, on the other hand, you will most effectually be enabled to support the constitutional principles of the Monarchy by maintaining an absolute independence, and by taking care not to put yourself within the reach of the imputation of favouritism, which, once established against you, will render your means of real and effectual assistance useless, by discrediting your station in the country, and by depriving it of its best recommendation, its absolute independence.

It will be seen from the foregoing communication how extremely anxious were Lord Buckingham's uncles, at this crisis, that he should act with the utmost circumspection on every possible contingency.

THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

MY DEAR LORD,

Many thanks for your note by Lord Cassilis; I do not credit any of the rumours to which you refer. I believe that all is now quiet in those quarters. I understand that the Secret Committee is to meet in our House on Wednesday, and on its Report a Bill is to be introduced; in the Commons, a delay of ten days is to be proposed, for the purpose of waiting for our Bill. You have heard of the proceedings in our House to-night: a petition from the Queen, praying against a Secret Committee, and for a delay of any proceedings, in order to enable her to collect her witnesses; Brougham and Denman called in and heard in support of the petition, and the House adjourned until to-morrow, when Lord Grey is to make his motion for rescinding the order respecting the Secret Committee. When this motion is disposed of, Lord Liverpool will move that the Secret Committee shall meet on Wednesday. I cannot ascertain the temper of the House positively, but I perceive no alteration in it of any description.

Yours, my dear Lord, sincerely,

W.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, July 2, 1820.

I am glad you are so near the end of your labours, though that end is to be the beginning of a fresh and very painful scene. I am clear, however, that in the state to which the matter is now brought, the course at last adopted was the only one which affords any hope of concluding it without the most alarming consequences. And if the House of Lords manifests, as I trust it will, a temperate and truly

judicial spirit in the conduct of the trial, I am sanguine enough to believe that much lost ground may still be recovered.

I am utterly at variance with Charles's notion, that such proceedings ought to commence in the House of Commons; and I am sure in this case it was of unspeakable importance that the matter should first undergo a judicial investigation, before it was brought any more under the cognizance of a body so liable to act on momentary impressions, in place of the settled rules and permanent principles of legal proceeding.

RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, July 5, 1820.

MY DEAR LORD B——,

I cannot help writing a line to say how well satisfied I am with the result which this post has brought us, and how glad I am that no secondary matter has been tacked on to that which is of primary interest. We neither of us can as yet collect by what precise course the matter is to be so charged as to give the proper notice so as to enable the party concerned to provide a reply. I should, of course, suppose that by this time the whole march of all the proceedings is foreseen and determined upon, if there was not such frequent occasion to remark that foresight and decision are much more frequently to be desired than to be found.

I should suppose that the Bill must contain specific charges, or that those charges must be communicated by a resolution of the House. What is most to be apprehended is that dexterous advocates may awaken new questions in so novel a proceeding, and may thereby prolong the discussion to a most inconvenient and dangerous length, by

which this state of hazardous agitation of the public mind will be continued, and a feeling of commiseration will be excited by the length of the proceeding, although the prolongation of it will be owing more to the accused than to the accusers. You see every hour of every day that "the mountain" is dragging all that side of the house into an avowed party-protection, to be afforded before trial; that the answers to addresses are so many appeals made to the "soldiers and sailors;" and that the hypocritical lamentations over the ill-judged time of the Coronation, are indulged in for the obvious purpose of exciting the tumults which they affect to deprecate. All this is very disgusting, and not without real danger. I suppose your Committee, being now dissolved by its Report, you have nothing more to do in these odious abominations, which the Vice-Chancellor will probably have to manage.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, July 5, 1820.

I see nothing *primâ facie* to object to in the Report, and I am very glad that the *doubt* was decided negatively.

I imagine, however, that there may still be some difficulty in the course of the proceeding, if she requires, as I suppose she will be advised to do, that the facts of both descriptions should be more precisely specified as to time and place, before she is called upon to answer them in any judicial form.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, July 19, 1820.

My dear Lord,

I am passing through town in my way to E. Green, and find it not only greatly thinned, but those remaining in a

much more melancholy mood than when I left it. The language even of the Government is most croaking, and you may be assured the Queen's party is far from diminishing. The City is completely with her,—not the Common Council, but the shopkeepers and merchants,—and I have great doubts if the troops are not infected. The press is paid for her abundantly, and there are some ale-houses open where the soldiers may go and drink and eat for nothing, provided they will drink "Prosperity and health to the Queen." The K—— grows daily more unpopular, and is the only individual in the kingdom insensible to it. He sees Lady C—— daily, and had a party of his family at dinner this week, she the only exception. You may think, perhaps, this letter gloomy; but I assure you I write much less desponding than the general language and feeling would authorize me.

The peerages are eight, and hourly expected:—Lord Conyngham, Roden, Sir W. Scott, Forester, Cholmondeley, Liddel, W. Pole, Lord James Murray.

I don't hear a word of the Dukedoms. The King reviews the Guards on Friday, and then goes to the cottage at Windsor, to meet the Conynghams. Boats are gone from Chatham and Staines for the Virginia Lake, where he is to have water-parties. Probably or possibly we shall participate in these. If so, you shall hear from me.—It is said the Lords meet the 17th; begin immediately the witnesses for the prosecutor: finish this in a fortnight; then the Queen asks for two months (at least) before she commences her defence, *if she makes any.* But there is a strong report she means to make none in the Lords, but reserve herself for the Commons; if so, it is no great compliment to us, who examine not on oath. These, however, are only the rumours of the day.—Lushington got a most

handsome and proper dressing from Castlereagh, who, I am told, did it remarkably well.

Ever truly yours,
W. H. F.

RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Square, July 22, 1820.

MY DEAR LORD B——,

Lord G—— wrote to me last night, and tells me that he must, however reluctantly, attend on the 17th, the Chancellor being, as it is said, determined to go all lengths to enforce attendance. He is, in my mind, quite right in doing so. You will be much rejoiced to hear that on the 20th Lord G—— received a letter from Lord Liverpool, offering through him, in the K——'s name and in his, and in the most flattering terms from both, the situation of Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, with the Canonship of Christ Church, to Dr. Hodgson, as a thing proper in itself, and also as what was wished to be done on account of his connexion with Lord G——.

Nothing could be more gratifying to Lord G——, who has always felt mortified at observing that hitherto his connexion with Hodgson had been rather prejudicial than serviceable to him.—I write this the rather because my brother adds that the post being in the moment of going, he has not time to write you word of it then.

St. Paul's is given to Llandaff. The dandy Pelham is gone sulkily down to look at Bugden, and to see whether he will condescend to take that after his disappointment, at which there seems to be a very general feeling of satisfaction.

Vague reports of negotiation with the Queen through Lady Cholmondeley; but I do not hear them from any

sort of authority, and therefore I know not how to believe them. I hope you observe the *Morning Chronicle's* congratulations on the Naples revolution without loss of life, "in consequence of its being achieved by the *soldiery*, since *wherever* they raise *their voice*, it is *imperative*." And this is the Whig and Opposition printer!!! The K—— was prevented by gout from attending the cavalry review.

RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Square, July 26, 1820.

MY DEAR LORD B——,

The little that I hear is not worth sending you, either in quality or in quantity. The rumours about the military increase daily and frightfully. How much of these rumours is true, and how much is invented, and how much is exaggerated, I have no means to judge; but the prevalence of that topic of conversation, while it shews the generality of the apprehension, is itself but too much calculated to bring on the evil of which it treats. Tierney yesterday told us he had heard Wood say the day before that the Q—— had irrevocably determined to come down every day to the trial in her "coach-and-six *in a high style*;" if so, she will very likely be attended by all the idle populace between Hammersmith and London, besides a host of radicals, who will not let go by such an auspicious opportunity. How the peace of the metropolis or the safety of the Parliament is to be secured under all these circumstances, might puzzle wiser heads than those whose business it will be to decide upon it. T—— admits himself to be considerably alarmed, and describes the appearance of the Ministers in these latter days as betraying more anxiety and apprehension than vigour or decision. He said that the Attorney-General, in his speech yesterday in the House

of Commons, was almost in tears, and used the expression that "there was no doubt that a revolution was in contemplation." Whether it is prudent to use such an expression in order to excite sufficient means of resistance, or dangerous from awakening such a topic may be a question; but of the extent of alarm which he must have felt to have led him to that expression, there can be no doubt.

One of the rumours is, that the D—— of W—— was earnest for disbanding one of the regiments of Guards, but that the D—— of Y—— would not consent; another is, that the D—— of G——, apprised some time back of the state of his regiment, forbid his Adjutant to communicate it to the D—— of Y——. But these are only rumours.

Reports continue of doubts about the Household Troops; probably some mere inventions, and others exaggerated; but the mischief of these reports is incalculable, because they promote distrust and suspicion on the one side, and agitation and restlessness on the other; and if one wished to create the evil, there could be no readier way than by the unremitted discussions which prevail everywhere upon this subject.

The 71st and 85th Light Infantry regiments, now under Sir J. Byng, are ordered up to Uxbridge and to the neighbourhood of London; I trust, therefore, and indeed I hear, that in Byng's district things are tolerably quiet; but if the Q—— goes to Manchester, as she threatens, the two regiments will perhaps have to march back again.

What you hear about Canning is true. He attends no Cabinets, and is going to Italy.

The Q—— is sending what she calls her *Commissioners* to Milan. There are among them, as I hear, two respectable lawyers.

The Attorney-General said two days ago that the prosecutor's case would take a month.

I am glad to hear you have good accounts from every part of the Bucks Yeomanry. Everything looks too fearful to allow me the expression of anything but the most heartfelt regret, that on a question which in three weeks may decide upon the fate of the country, there should be a single Grenville found among those whom we may have to fear and (dreadful to think) to resist! I shall return with you to town, for if there is danger where my brother and you are, there will I be.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Malvern Wells, July 24, 1820.

You will, perhaps, have heard from my brother, to whom I wrote the day I knew it, of the very handsome and kind manner in which the Divinity Professorship at Oxford has been offered to Hodgson through me, and I am sure it will have given you pleasure both on his account and mine.

Lord Liverpool could hardly have found a more delicate or a more effectual way of gratifying me, and I must say he has done so very much indeed.

The appointment is, in all other respects, one that must do him credit, and I trust it may lead to still further prospects for Hodgson. It has long been a matter of deep mortification to me to think how much Hodgson's universally acknowledged merits had been put by on the account of the part he had taken in my support, and I delight now in thinking that he will ultimately not be a loser by that circumstance.

We shall, of course, meet on the 17th, if indeed that day is adhered to; but, after so many delays, one hardly knows how to reckon on any fixed time for this unpleasant business.

The revolution at Naples was wholly unexpected. Had it been looked for, there was the ready resource of Austrian troops, which I still hope may be effective in preserving tranquillity in the rest of Italy.

DR. PHILLIMORE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall, July 26, 1820.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have to return your Lordship many thanks for the proxy, though, owing to my bad writing, it took such a circuit that it would have been too late here for any good purpose had proxies been called for, which they were not. Lord Ellenborough, to propitiate the Chancellor, materially altered the form of the Bill, which enabled that *wily* adversary to throw it out altogether, which I doubt very much whether he could have done had the alterations made in it not given a fair pretext of want of more time to consider them. A great point was, however, gained by the discussion, for Lord Liverpool admitted that a considerable alteration must be made in the existing law, and guarded his vote by this statement. Ministers certainly appear low, and I have no doubt are under great alarm. Dr. Lushington has given Lord Liverpool formal notice that the Queen will attend all the discussions on the Bill in the House of Lords. It is said she is daily to come from Barnes in a coach-and-six. This must all be for stage effect, or rather for intimidation; and really it is impossible to look forward to the result without apprehension, especially knowing, as we do, that the Ministers delight in half measures, and never take any decided line if they can avoid it. In the House of Commons their authority is decidedly at a low ebb. Canning has not been in the House for some time. It is said he is going to join his family in Italy; and people

now contrast his conduct with that of the Chancellor who co-operated with him in 1808 to whitewash the Queen, much to the disadvantage of the latter (*i.e.*, the Chancellor).

One idea very prevalent is, that the Queen will address the House of Lords in a speech at the opening of the proceedings against her.

If any occurrence likely to interest you comes to my knowledge, you may depend upon hearing from me; but I am thinking of making my escape somewhere to the sea-side in the course of the next week, for a short time at least.

Believe me, my dear Lord,
Your Lordship's obliged and faithful,
J. PHILLIMORE.

MR. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Barmouth, July 27, 1820.

MY DEAR B——,

During the interval which elapsed between the time of your leaving town and my setting off for Wales, not a single event took place—not even a fresh report was circulated—which might afford me the materials for a letter. My newspaper now speaks of a fresh attempt at a compromise, accompanied with a proposal for restoring the Queen's name to the Liturgy, which has been refused on her part. Surely, notwithstanding all the absurdity and mismanagement which we have seen, this must be impossible. The only way of accounting for it would be some panic of personal alarm; but even then, lowly as I think of his advisers, I cannot conceive that they could consent to a measure of such inevitable and wholly useless disgrace.

The eagerness of popular feeling, even in this Tory tranquil part of the country—where there has not, since the extinction of Jacobitism, been an opinion ever expressed on general politics, but that all measures adopted by the King must be right—is inconceivable. I was stopped in this little village the first day of my arrival, by the master of a fishing-boat, to ask me whether I thought the House of Commons would take care that justice was done to the Queen. My wife, also, has met with two or three equally strong proofs of the interest taken in this question. Pray tell me what you hear of the disposition of the army. I have seen some allusions to fresh discontents among the Guards on the subject of some stoppage for breakfasts. The cause does not signify a pin, for if the spirit once exists, occasions for manifesting it will never be wanting.

Henry writes me word that he heard of scarcely anything at Milan, or in the neighbourhood of the Lake of Como, but the Queen's conduct, of which everybody seemed ready to give evidence. The witnesses had all been placed on an allowance of thirty francs per diem, which seems as good a device to invalidate their evidence as could have been adopted, and many are supposed to have come forward only *per chiappar il denaro*. The most material are said to be some bricklayers, who must have peeped, he concludes, through the windows.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

In the manner indicated in the preceding portion of this correspondence, the great contest was carried on. The Queen had evidently not miscalculated her power of dangerously exciting public opinion; she had moved from the Alderman's house to the resi-

dence of one of the ladies of her suite, and from thence had gone to a more Queen-like abode, at a convenient distance from town, known as Brandenburg House, Hammersmith; but wherever she went, the popular hopes and wishes went with her,—and knowing the excitement she produced, she redoubled her efforts to increase it, and direct it to the advancement of her interests. The moderation of the Government she regarded with studied contempt, and every indication they put forth of a desire to treat her with as much respect as was consistent with their duty to their Royal master, produced a more violent display of her resolve to ride down all opposition. There is little doubt that the King was now as much alarmed as annoyed; was often dissatisfied with his Ministers, and quite ready to accept the services of any set of men capable of relieving him from this serious embarrassment; but the task was full of danger, and prudent statesmen like Lord Grenville and his brother were not to be tempted into accepting it. The Coronation was postponed, and the Court participated in their Sovereign's fears and anxieties.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

E. Green, Friday, August 11, 1820.

My dear Lord,

The K—— has been in this neighbourhood for the last fortnight, living in the greatest retirement; his party con-

sisting of very few—the principal object of course the Lady C——, who is here. They ride every day, or go on the water, or drive in a barouche; the K—— and her always together, separated from the rest, and in the evening sitting alone apart. I have heard of the Esterhazys (who called on a friend here, and said the evenings were *triste à mourir*), no cards, no books, no amusement or employment of any kind; Sir Benjamin and Lady Bloomfield, Lord C——, Nagle, Thornton, Keppel, and one or two more; I believe the Warwicks, for two days; the Duke of Dorset. The secrecy that is preserved as to their pursuits is beyond all idea; no servant is permitted to say who is there; no one of the party calls on anybody, or goes near Windsor; and when they ride, a groom is in advance, ordering everybody to retire, for "the K—— is coming." The private rides are of course avoided by the neighbours, so that in fact you know almost as much of what is going on as I do, excepting that the excess of his attentions and *enjouement* is beyond belief.

The public are full of nothing but a communication between the King and the Ministers, opened by a letter from her. I have not the least idea it can possibly lead to accommodation, though it is hoped so. I think Lord John Russell's letter most calculated indeed for mischief, and for nothing else, for the idea of the interference proposed is quite absurd; if it were to take place at all, it must be through Parliament. The prospect of the opening and of the result is tremendous, and enough to appal the stoutest heart; however, we have weathered many storms, and I hope we shall do so in this case. The Duchess of York wrote a very affecting letter to the Duke just previous to her death. His Majesty has not bestowed a *length* of out-

ward grief in the mourning. She is certainly to be buried at Weybridge.

Ever, my dear Lord, most truly yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

P.S.—Lord Bulkeley has excused himself for the trial; he has been very severely ill indeed, and I doubt much if he will have strength to rally, though he is gradually, but very slowly, mending. There are messengers going from and coming to the Cottage hourly almost for the last two days.

CHAPTER III.

[1820.]

EVIDENCE AGAINST QUEEN CAROLINE—DIVIDED OPINIONS RESPECTING HER IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS—DECLARATION OF LORD GRENVILLE —THE BILL OF PAINS AND PENALTIES ABANDONED—THE KING DISSATISFIED WITH HIS MINISTERS—CONVERSATION OF LORD GRENVILLE WITH THE KING—MINISTERIAL MANAGEMENT OF THE QUEEN'S CASE—HER CONDUCT AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF PROCEEDINGS AGAINST HER—REACTION IN THE PUBLIC MIND—THE QUEEN LOSES GROUND IN POPULAR ESTIMATION—RETURNING POPULARITY OF THE KING.

CHAPTER III.

It is unnecessary to follow minutely the proceedings that took place in both Houses of the Legislature, then generally looked upon as the trial of Caroline of Brunswick,—let it suffice to state, that despite the disclosures which they furnished, the Queen did not lose any of her popularity. It was enough for the multitude which had so enthusiastically embraced her cause, that the witnesses against her were foreigners; and their national prejudices thus enlisted in her behalf, carried her triumphantly through an ordeal that would have been destructive to a much better reputation.[1]

DR. PHILLIMORE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Putney Heath, Aug. 12, 1820.

My dear Lord,

In spite of the rumours I hear on every side, I suppose the House of Lords will meet on the 17th to prove the preamble of the Bill of Pains and Penalties;—indeed, in the

[1] Whatever may be thought of the testimony of the Italian witnesses, that of the English officers examined was above suspicion. Their evidence, an impartial historian has acknowledged, proved her guilty of conduct that rendered her "unfit to be at the head of English society, and amply justified the measures taken to exclude her from it."—Alison's "Europe," vol. ii. p. 466.

present state of things, I see not what other course can be adopted. Lord John Russell's plan really seems to me more pregnant with certain mischief than any which has yet been suggested; and we are now suffering enough from fluctuating and oscillating counsels to warn us against any recurrence to measures which savour of timidity and hesitation. My own idea is this, that in reality the Queen's partisans mainly rely on the effect they can produce by their daily statements and daily intimidation on the electors, hoping through their instrumentality to make the elected subservient to their plans; and it is, I fear, impossible as yet to calculate whether they may not be successful in this. At all events, the Government will have received a shock in the control of the House of Commons, which, constituted as they now are, they never can recover. Never, indeed, in my recollection, do I remember so general an idea that there must be a change of Ministry. I hear it from quarters which astonish me.

Lushington, I hear, now very much presides over the councils of her Majesty; in many respects he is well calculated to please her, for he is good-natured and obliging in his demeanour, rash in his advice, and a lover to excess of popular applause. He is everywhere with her now: airs with her, assists her in receiving addresses, &c.

The only counsel to be employed for the King, as I am informed, are the Attorney and Solicitor-General, Young, Parke, and two civilians,—viz., the King's Advocate and Dr. Adams. They must rely upon the Solicitor-General mainly, whose shoulders are quite equal to the burthen. They are very unfortunate in the choice of their civilians: the King's Advocate is clumsy and confused, and has no practice; Adams is injudicious and impracticable, and has no learning. I shall be exceedingly curious to see the out-

set of the business; but probably it will be difficult to get a place, even if the present heat continues.

Canning left London for Italy a few days ago.

Believe me ever, my dear Lord,

Your obliged and faithful,

JOSEPH PHILLIMORE.

P.S.—If there should be any idea of postponing the business (which I do not in the least expect), perhaps you will have the kindness to let me know as much.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Aug. 30, 1820.

MY DEAR LORD,

The discussions which have taken place, and the decision of yesterday, astound everybody here. The Chancellor and the Prime Minister differing and dividing on a question which the former argues as vital to the jurisprudence of the country, is what England, I believe, has never before witnessed; and these Ministers remaining in the same Cabinet, and continuing to act together. How can all this end? I was in town for a few hours on Monday, and it appeared to me that in the streets the cry was increased instead of diminished for the Queen. I saw several lawyers, dispassionate men, and intelligent, who all confirmed this, and assured me that their belief was, that be the evidence ever so strong, and the facts proved, the public—and included in this, the middling class, the shopkeepers—were determined to support her as an oppressed and injured woman, and as hating and despising the character of the witnesses. It also has not a little benefited her cause, that it appears how much the King personally has prepared the evidence by his emissaries abroad, and more particularly by

his Hanoverian engines. I assure you I am quite low-spirited about it. One cannot calculate on anything less than subversion of all Government and authority, if this is to go on; and how it is to end, no one can foresee. I think, however (what I did not do when you told me so in town), that the Commons will never entertain the Bill. But, again, when will it ever come to the Commons? The mischief will be all done previously; and the Press now is completely open to treason, sedition, blasphemy, and falsehood with impunity. This alone, if it continues, must debauch the public mind. I want some volunteer establishments to be formed, or something to be done without a moment's delay, by the well-disposed and loyal who have influence, to check the torrent and to guard against the explosion which must inevitably take place. I don't know whether you see the *Cobbetts, Independent Whig*, and many other papers now circulating most extensively, and which are dangerous much beyond anything I can describe. I have an opportunity of seeing them, and can speak therefore from knowledge; and the Government taking no steps (knowing, perhaps, they cannot depend on a jury) to prosecute. What do you find in the language of Government since the division? Is the Chancellor submissive? and does he still cling to the Purse, or will he surrender it?

The King here confines himself to the Cottage, has *hourly* messengers—that is, dragoons, who are posted on the road by dozens—and we hear is in a state of the greatest irritation; but he is very seldom seen, and this is only what one picks up.—You have no conception how thoroughly the public mind, even in this neighbourhood, is inflamed by this melancholy subject, and how the Queen is still supported.—Adieu, my dear Lord. I should be glad

to know how you are, and what you think of the state of things since I saw you.

Yours most faithfully,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

MR. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

MY DEAR B——,

Your prognostications of the present Bill standing over for the decision of the rising generation, seem to be now, I will not say verified, but far exceeded, as it must remain not for that which is rising, but for that which is yet unborn, *if* it be proceeded in. You know the strong bias of my opinion was originally towards an impeachment for misdemeanour, if a simple Divorce Bill could not be carried; and really, as is usual on such occasions, everything which passes seems to supply me with a fresh argument in favour of that course. Certain, however, it is, that no course could possibly have been adopted which would not have been marred by the weakness and indecision of Ministers. The double cross-examination now authorized, seems to me in its effect infinitely more inconvenient than a communication of the list of witnesses, objectionable as I thought that measure would have been originally. That at least would have expedited the business, since it would have left no pretence for calling for extended delay to prepare her defence. As it is, under the most favourable circumstances to the Bill, I do not see how it is to reach the House of Commons till after Christmas, allowing an interval of six weeks or two months for preparing her defence, which I suppose must be given. If this be the case, how will it be possible for the House of Commons to proceed to effect with such an examination as this, and at the same time to go through the ordinary

business of the session, increased as it will be beyond precedent by the arrears and omissions of the last?

There are many whose object it will be studiously and declaredly to protract, in order that the business may necessarily drop to the ground; and from the general aversion to the whole proceeding, it seems to me that they must succeed.

The evidence against the Queen seems already decisive, so far as to establish her criminality; but I understand that, in order to guard against a possibility of the contradiction of these facts, the whole crew of the *Vero Fidele*, &c. &c., are to be examined.

Wilberforce's notion of a Committee to be established by Act of Parliament for the trial of this particular case, seems to me too absurd for even him to persist in, since the obvious consequence must be a declaration that the same course must be followed in all subsequent trials, the two Houses being by their own confession as unfit to act judicially as the House of Commons was on election cases; and if that be the case, really the sooner Henry Hunt comes with his long brush to sweep us all out, the better.

Thus had proceeded the months of June, July, and August; in September, affairs looked worse. Libels against the Government abounded; the most violent language was indulged in by the democratic leaders; formidable riots became of frequent occurrence; in short, everything seemed to denote a revolution.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Brighton, Sept. 27, 1820.

MY DEAR LORD,

From all I hear, and from general conversation, I have no doubt if the Bill proceeds in the Commons we shall have a riot, and I doubt extremely whether the Divorce Bill can be carried. I dined yesterday with the Duke of York, who is here alone. His conversation was violent against the Queen, and fair and candid with regard to the state of the country. He spoke, however, with great confidence on the state and disposition of the army; in fact, after all that is said and done, it must eventually depend upon the troops, for sure I am they will be called upon. I took the opportunity of holding the language you suggested, and indeed it is what I really feel. He said it was not intended in the first instance to have troops to guard the avenues of the Commons, but they would be in the way; the whole arrangements would continue; and if the House found it necessary to call for them, there they would be. There has been, as you heard from the K——, a general quarrel between the K——, Duke of York, Lord Liverpool, and the Duke of Gloucester, none of them now speaking to the latter. He has acted like an obstinate ——. What an abominable thing it is the King not going ashore, and not showing himself to any of his subjects! His conduct is an excitement to popular hatred. What can it mean? Lord King is here, and appears to me to chuckle quite at the thoughts of what is likely to happen. I fancy a great number of Peers, when it comes to the close, will avoid the vote.

Perry, the editor, who is here, tells me the cry, instead of diminishing, increases in favour of the Queen; and he does

not seem himself to favour her, or at least he does not speak in her praise.

Lord Bathurst is here, and from his language, and that of the Duke of B——, I should say the Government is confoundedly frightened; the latter certainly implied the necessity of strengthening it, and lamented once or twice the want of energy, and the whole line which had been adopted. He leaves this for town to-morrow.

Ever, &c.,

W. H. F.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Six o'clock.

You have no idea of the state of the town: it is all confusion. The King and his Ministers are at issue on the question, as it is said, of the Queen; and the latter have sent in their resignation, unless the propositions they make are complied with. Lord Castlereagh was deputed yesterday to notify this decision to him, and he had a conference of *four* hours. The King, however, was not to be persuaded, and was again to have a decision of the Cabinet to-day. It is at this moment sitting at Carlton House. These are, as I am well informed, *facts*. The supposed cause is the Queen. The Council had prepared a Form of Prayer which the King positively refused to sign or sanction. The Funds fell to-day. As to the King forming a Government, after the resignation of all his present servants, with the avowed object of persecuting the Queen, it would be impossible; it would be making her the popular object, and throwing the country in a flame. However, be assured that the general belief is that the Government will be broken up. You may judge of this when I tell you that my authorities are Lord Conyngham,

Lord Howden, and others in the interior of Carlton House. I hear you are at Dropmore, and send this to you. Be assured that the King on this subject is no less *than mad.* He has said he would rather die, or lose his crown, than submit to any compromise of any sort with the Queen.

Adieu. You shall hear to-morrow.

Ever truly yours,

W. H. F.

In the months of October and November it became evident that the frenzy outside the Houses of Parliament was exerting an influence within its walls. Notwithstanding Lord Grenville's manly declaration in his place in the House of Lords, on the 6th of November, that the proceedings before that assembly had furnished a mass of evidence that, in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of a thousand, would have ensured a conviction, several influential members of the Whig party as boldly declared that nothing of the slightest importance had been brought forward against the Queen.

The proceedings were drawing on, but the aspect of affairs looked blacker every hour. "Matters here are in a critical state," writes Lord Sidmouth to Mr. Bathurst, on the 27th of October. "Fear and faction are actively and not unsuccessfully at work; and it is possible that we may be in a minority, and that the fate of the Government may be decided in a few days."[1] Plumer Ward, in his "Diary," has this entry under the date of November 2nd:—

[1] Dean Pellew's "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 333.

"Called upon [Wellesley] Pole. He was at breakfast, and we had a long chat. He thought everything very bad—Ministers, Opposition, King, Queen, Country—and what was more, no prospect of getting right. All ties were loosened. Insolence and insubordination out of doors; weakness and wickedness within. The Whigs, he said, were already half Radicals, and would be entirely so if we did not give way. I said his brother, the Duke [of Wellington], felt this too, but would not give way, nevertheless. He replied that the issue would soon be tried, for the Queen's question must determine it; and asked how I calculated it would be. I said I could not hope for a majority of more than thirty—so many friends of Government were against us on the policy, though they had no doubt of the guilt."[1]

Under these untoward circumstances, sanguine members of the neutral party were, as usual, speculating on a change in the Government. His Majesty, according to some accounts, was taking the matter very pleasantly. "The King," said Wellesley Pole, "to use his expression, was as merry as a grig. At first he had been annoyed, but was now enjoying himself at Brighton. He wished he would show himself more."[2]

The same authority affords many other peeps behind the political curtain. We quote one:—

[1] "Memoirs," by Phipps, vol. ii. p. 70. [2] Ibid. p. 73.

"On leaving Pole, I met Hammond, my quondam colleague when we were Under Secretaries of State together. He told me it was certain Lord Grenville would support the Bill, and then asked me, with much concern, whether the report was true that, if it did not pass, Ministers had resolved to resign? I answered, that what they had resolved in their own minds no one could tell, but that I thought I could answer that no such resolution had been made a Cabinet measure. He said he was very glad. I related this to ——, who said with some vehemence, there was no reason on earth why they should resign. They had been right and straightforward from the beginning, and for one, he never would consent to it. —— said, Hammond being the mouthpiece of Canning, he had no doubt this was set on foot by his party. I thought this was going too far; nevertheless, it is surprising what industry they are showing against the Bill."[1]

"Lord Grenville," adds the diarist, "voted for the second reading, and spoke very ably, but so as to make us regret he had not spoken earlier."[2]

The second reading of the Bill was carried, and this, according to Lord Grey, stamped the Queen with a verdict of guilty. Having done this, Ministers prepared to get rid of the proceedings as soon as possible.

[1] Phipps's "Memoirs of R. Plumer Ward," vol. ii. p. 73.
[2] Ibid. p. 77.

How the affair terminated is well described in Plumer Ward's "Diary," under the date November 10th. We can only afford space for a few lines:—

"The debate was now drawing to a close, and most of the peers who were speaking, whether for or against the third reading (the Duke of Northumberland very emphatically), were declaring their conviction that the Queen was guilty. At length the division was called, and Lord Gage enforced the standing order, that each peer should give his vote in his place, *seriatim*. The result was the small majority of 9; the numbers being 108 to 99. Lord Liverpool then got up and withdrew the Bill, resting it upon so small a majority *in the circumstances of the country*."[1]

The Opposition were, of course, in raptures with this conclusion of the contest; but Ministers were still more delighted, the Duke of Wellington especially. "Well," said he, "we have done exceedingly well, and have avoided all sort of mischief, I think, with safety and without dishonour. The votes put the question of guilt or innocence out of doubt; the withdrawing is grounded upon mere expediency, and has nothing to do with the verdict; had we given up before the third reading, it would have been different."[2]

The metropolis was illuminated in consequence of the Government having abandoned the prosecution.

[1] "Memoirs," by Phipps, vol. ii. p. 91. [2] Ibid. p. 93.

MR. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Llangedwin, Nov. 12, 1820.

Upon the whole, my dear B——, with the very imperfect means of information which, at the distance of a hundred and eighty miles from the scene of action, I possess, I am inclined to think the conclusion to which this business has been brought, the best that circumstances admitted of, and such as will afford the least triumph to the Radicals. Still, though the least, it is far too great for the safety of the country; and after the saturnalia which the shameful supineness and cowardice of Ministers have allowed, I know not how popular commotion is to be avoided. I feel as strongly as you do the claim of duty which the country possesses upon every man in such a conjuncture; yet I should most deeply regret if circumstances should oblige us to connect ourselves with men from whose previous conduct we could expect nothing but the shipwreck of our own character, and the loss of those means, which we may possibly possess by that character, of being of service hereafter.

After their inconsistency and vacillation upon so important a subject as the Divorce clause, and voting against their own declared opinion on a measure which they had themselves originated, what dependence could *we*, small as could be our power, place upon their support and co-operation in measures which we might think necessary, and which, on the faith of that support, we might pledge ourselves to?

At all events, I am most anxious that we should, for the present, stand aloof, when there has been so much to disgust us in the conduct of both parties, till we see what

effect is produced by what has happened. Something certainly might depend upon the nature of the split which might take place in the Administration; but I fear that there could scarcely be any one which would not ensure the retirement of the only man whom it would be important to retain—Lord Liverpool. Castlereagh might, perhaps, try as Premier; but surely you would not think those encouraging auspices to start under, insisting as you must do absolutely on the dismissal of the Doctor and his whole train.

I had much rather myself, if an opportunity offered of coming in with the Whigs, trust to the usual and never-failing effect of office in making them vehement anti-Radicals, in case we could make some conditions for immediate measures, or rather against immediate concessions; but I feel that this is, at the present moment, too visionary a speculation. On the whole, I should repeat that we must at present wait the course of events; and, above all, avoid courting any offer from either party. Place and power are not objects which you can be bound to seek, though it may be your duty to accept them at a moment so perilous.

I expect company here, which would make it difficult for me to join you at Stowe for some time. Of course, there will be a prorogation on the 23rd; and it should seem most probable that, unless the next three or four days should produce a general resignation, they will endeavour to wait over the first ferment produced by the abandonment of the Bill before they attempt any new arrangement.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

That the King was dissatisfied with his Minis-

ters, is very apparent from the following communications:—

DR. PHILLIMORE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall, Nov. 23, 1820.

MY DEAR LORD,

Such a scene was never witnessed as that which took place in the House of Commons this afternoon. After a petition had been presented, and certain new members had been sworn, Denman got up to make a communication from the Queen. Sir Thomas Tyrrwhit instantly made his appearance; a clamour beyond all imagination arose; and the Speaker descended from the chair, amidst cries of "Shame! shame!" re-echoed through the House. The interpretation of this I understand to be, that Denman saw the Speaker yesterday, who advised him to change his form of proceeding from a Message from the Queen to a communication from her; and *told him*, if he would be in the House a quarter before two, he should have an opportunity of making it. The Speaker having left the House in this state of ferment and indignation, preparations were made to receive him on his return (to read, as he usually does, the King's Speech) with a sharp volley; but the Lords Commissioners, it seems, delivered no speech, and the Speaker, instead of returning to us, retired to his own home. It is but just to add, that I was not an eyewitness of all these proceedings, for I reached the House just as the Speaker was entering the House of Peers; but I heard the relation from every one, and the indignation expressed at the Speaker's conduct was not confined to the members of Opposition.

I hear no account of changes, &c., on which I can at all rely. The Government, since the abandonment of their Bill, seem to have lost their senses. They have done, I

think, everything they ought not. In my opinion, they are irretrievably gone. I have no idea that they can long stand against the storm they have been so instrumental in raising against themselves; and this is the persuasion among many of those who have hitherto supported them.

Excuse haste. But believe me your Lordship's obliged and faithful,

JOSEPH PHILLIMORE.

RIGHT HON. THOS. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Sunday, Two o'clock P.M., Nov. 26, 1820.

MY DEAR LORD BUCKINGHAM,

Lord Grenville has been employed this morning in making a note of a very long conversation which the King held with him yesterday, having sent for him to his Cottage. Lord G—— had intended to have added a few words to you upon this subject, but he has such a violent headache that he has been obliged to desire me to enclose to you his memorandum of what passed yesterday. He desires that you would return it by his servant as soon as you have read it, and strongly urges me to dwell upon the indispensable necessity of no part of that memorandum being *either copied or quoted by you.* You will see that he desired the K—— to mention to Lord L—— that such a conversation had taken place; and as it occupied five hours, it will probably be very generally known that Lord G—— was at the Cottage. The way in which Lord G—— means to speak of it when it is mentioned in his presence is, that "everybody knows his absolute determination not to embark in any official business, or in any possible Administration; but that the public danger appears to be so great, that it is very natural for the K—— to wish to converse with anybody on whose integrity and experience he places

any reliance; and that, instead of being surprised that the K—— should wish to discuss these dangers with Lord G——, it is only surprising that he does not extend the same discussion to many others whom he may believe equally attached with Lord G—— to the constitution of our limited monarchy."

This general observation seems quite sufficient, and is, in truth, a very fair picture of all that is fit to be said in public on such a topic. My brother thought that the K—— looked thin and worn, but said that he spoke with feeling and good sense throughout the whole conversation.

My own speculation is, that C—— means to oppose the Cabinet in their exclusion from the Liturgy, and that he will quit on that ground; but we shall see whether any middle course will be adopted. I think Lord G—— did all that became him in declining to advise between the two parties of Government and Opposition; and that he will have done some good if, at his suggestion, the K—— forces his Ministers to look into their situation and to ascertain it, instead of going a-shooting and revelling.

Lady L—— has broken a bloodvessel. Lord Kirkwall is dead. Lord G——'s servant returns early to-morrow.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Nov. 23, 1820.

MY DEAR LORD,

I found Lord Shaftesbury at Lord Verulam's, and I think I never saw anybody so sore or so depressed as he appeared to be. I found from him that there is a considerable difference between Lord Liverpool and the Chancellor; and the history of the protestors, I am quite sure, arises from a wish of the latter to wound the former. Lords Bridgewater and Verulam have been persuaded by Lord

Shaftesbury into it, and fancy they are acting a very independent and manly part by so doing.—The King has been urging the Government to go on with the business *now* without adjournment, and was most eager that the question of Income, Palace, and Liturgy should be immediately discussed; and in this he has again been advised by L——. He is very angry with his Ministers for not complying with his orders, and has abused both Lords Liverpool and Castlereagh. Notwithstanding all this, however, they are determined to try the game as they stand, and will meet Parliament without change. The Whigs and Radicals are both fearful of the Grenville party joining the Government; and Cobbett has been attacking you violently in his last number, which I do not think will lessen you in public opinion.—I did not go up to-day, for Lord Shaftesbury told me it was determined, if possible, to prevent any discussion.—I hope you continue to mend. You shall have whatever I pick up.

Ever most truly yours,
W. H. FREMANTLE.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Nov. 26, 1820.

MY DEAR LORD,

Of course, before you get this, you will have heard that the King sent for Lord Grenville. Bloomfield went on Friday to Dropmore, and yesterday Lord G—— came to the Cottage at eleven, and stayed till three.—It happened that I dined with the King afterwards, at the Princess Augusta's, at Frogmore, who called me aside to tell me of the conference, saying how much satisfied he had been with Lord Grenville.—Of course he said nothing further to me, excepting that he had told Lord G—— all that was in-

tended to be done; by which I implied that the interview was more for the purpose of consulting and asking his advice, than for any object of change.—Previous to dinner, I thought his Majesty looked dreadfully dejected and thoughtful; but when he had dined (professing to have no appetite), and ate as much as would serve me for three days, of fish—but no meat—together with a bottle of strong punch, he was in much better spirits, and vastly agreeable. There were only six people, four of which were ladies. He did not sit a quarter of an hour after they left us; and excepting talking a little on the indecent behaviour of the *Mountain* in the House of Commons, and telling an anecdote or two of the women who went up with addresses to the Queen, not a word was said of politics. He remained till twelve o'clock, and he and Princess Augusta and myself sang glees.—He leaves the Cottage to-morrow.—You may suppose how very anxious I am to learn generally what has been the object of the interview at the Cottage. If for a change, I am persuaded Lord G—— would recommend in the first place Lord Lansdowne; but if I were to judge of what the King said of Tierney's conduct on the day of the meeting, this would not suit his present feelings.—What a game has Lord Grenville now in his hands! and what an influence he might possess in the country, could he be tempted to take a lead, which I am sure he will not!—Pray let me hear from you, as I am dying to know something about it.—Possibly this may reach you at Dropmore, if it leads to negotiation.

Ever truly yours,

W. H. F.

P.S.—The King spoke kindly of you, and about Wootton.

The Queen immediately tried to make the most of her "triumph," as it was called, and wrote to Lord Liverpool, demanding a palace. This was refused, though a handsome allowance was offered. She then agitated for a restoration of her name to the Liturgy, which was also firmly opposed.

The result of the withdrawal of the Bill was remarkable. A delirium of triumph appeared to have seized the entire country, and more particularly the populations of the large cities; but singularly true was Lord Castlereagh's prophecy, that in six months the King would be the most popular person in his dominions. The madness of the multitude necessarily brought about a reaction. "When the struggle was over and the victory gained," observes an historian of these events, "the King and his Ministers defeated, and the Queen secured in her rank and fortune, they began to reflect on what they had done, and the qualities of the exalted personage of whom they had proved themselves such doughty champions. They called to mind the evidence in the case, which they had little considered while the contest lasted; and they observed, not without secret misgivings, the effect it produced on the different classes of society. They saw that the experienced hesitated at it, the serious shunned it, the licentious gloated over it. The reaction, so usual in such cases when the struggle is over, ensued; and, satisfied with having won the victory,

they began to regret that it had not been gained in a less questionable cause."[1]

The last entry in Plumer Ward's "Diary" of this date is very characteristic of the Duke of Wellington:—"Met the Duke just come to town. He took me under the arm, and walked me to Lord Bathurst's. He was in excellent humour, and asked what news—having, as he said, been a country gentleman for two days. I said, I thought the heat a little, and but a little, subsiding. He observed, he thought so too; and that it would more after to-morrow—the prorogation. He was more convinced than ever of the wisdom of that measure, and of withdrawing the Bill."[2]

As may be exemplified by a familiar hygrometer, this change of atmosphere sent the lady out of notice, and brought the gentleman again before the public gaze.

The Government have been much censured for their proceedings in the Queen's case, but it was quite an exceptional one; and their treatment of it, however open to objections it may be, is equally open to justification. Their task, from the first, was an up-hill one, which nothing but their devotion to their master's service made them continue; but when a thousand unmistakeable signs foretold a rebellion if they persevered, they had no alternative but to put an end to the thing with all con-

[1] Alison's "Europe," vol. ii. p. 467.
[2] "Memoirs," by Phipps, vol. ii. p. 101.

venient despatch. The value of this movement soon became apparent. It possessed advantages which a victory could not have secured.

Notwithstanding the opinions expressed by the heads of the great Whig families in favour of the Queen, they could scarcely have desired her to be at the head of the female aristocracy of the kingdom—their example, guardian, and liege mistress. The stout lady in the magnificent hat and feathers was very well as a source of Ministerial embarrassment; but much as some of them pretended to decry the evidence against her that was elicited during her trial, they took especial care not to allow her anything resembling an intimacy with their wives and daughters.

Plumer Ward describes in his "Diary" one of the Opposition peers who had been very active for the Queen during the discussion of the Bill, though acknowledging that he entertained no doubt of her guilt. "I suppose," observed Ward, "you mean to present Lady —— at Brandenburg House? He, with a sudden change to solemnity, and with great emphasis, exclaimed, '*Never!*'"[1]

The Queen soon began to discover that her victory was a sensible defeat. "She is striving to keep the flame alive," we are told, "and blow it to fury."[2] But the mob, having nothing to clamour about, nothing to break windows for, ceased to

[1] "Memoirs," by Phipps, vol. ii. p. 95.
[2] "Wilberforce," vol. v. p. 81.

shout and to throw stones. The better educated became influenced quite as strongly from a different source. The cause of the Queen had enjoyed every assistance which a considerable portion of the press could afford it; and Thomas Moore and George Cruikshank manufactured the most stinging satires and the most ludicrous caricatures upon every person of distinction who opposed her; but a writer had entered the field on the other side, whose caustic humour told more damagingly on the popular idol and her chief supporters than the pen of the poet or the pencil of the artist; and Theodore Hook, in the columns of the *John Bull*, made the respectable portion of the Queenites heartily ashamed of their cause.

The Queen went in state to St. Paul's, to offer her thanks for the signal advantage over her enemies Providence had afforded her,[1] and omitted nothing likely to maintain her *prestige*; but the careful observer might easily have seen that the tide was turning. Brandenburg House was losing its attraction, while Carlton Palace again became the main channel of loyal interest. Addresses from several of the most influential communities in the kingdom were received by the Sovereign in quick succession; and in one from the University of Oxford, the deputation was headed by Lord Gren-

[1] This exhibition the Bishop of Llandaff stigmatizes as "a mockery of religious solemnity, at which every serious Christian must shudder." —Pellew's "Life of Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 336.

ville, who was honoured with a most gracious reception.

"I shall be very glad to hear of your loyal addresses coming up," writes Sir William Scott. "We want to be reinforced in our spirits by friendly declarations from respectable bodies and individuals. The Whigs appear too much disposed to a coalition with the Radicals, in order to compel the King to dismiss the Ministers, and that coalition is of itself a sufficient reason for a firm resistance to their admission into power; for they will be compelled to make very unpleasant concessions to their new allies, at the expense of the constitution."[1]

The following correspondence will further illustrate the transactions of this period:—

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Dec. 17, 1820.

MY DEAR LORD,

Since I wrote to you last, I have been manufacturing an address from this neighbourhood, which has been carried with great success, and has pleased, *particularly* in the quarter where I was anxious it should. I received a communication from the King through Princess Augusta, who was commanded to deliver it to me, that he should make an exception for his neighbours, and receive it in person, and that he should afterwards invite the principal persons to dine with him, directing me to make a proper selection for him to invite. This has placed me in great awkward-

[1] Twiss's "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 36.

ness, for I dare not avow this permission for fear of offending all my neighbours, and it is difficult to make a selection where all are perfectly unfit. However, I have endeavoured to get rid of it, by recommending it to be confined to those only who have been presented, or to noblemen and men of rank. Though highly flattering all this, I think you will agree with me it is highly absurd and *infra dignitate*. My own opinion is, that he will not come to the neighbourhood this week, as he proposed; for you may rest assured he is extremely unwell—I *think*, seriously so. He has been bled twice or three times; the greatest pains are taken to keep this illness from the public; but my authority is *good*, and what I can depend upon. He looked very ill when I last saw him, and I think Lord Grenville must have found his appearance much altered. The impression of my mind is that the complaint is in the *head*. He has been agitated to a degree by the birth of this Clarence child, and by all the difficulties surrounding him; and not less from finding that he has no resource, but must submit to whatever his Ministers may decide as to the Queen. He still presses further resistance, and fancies the public will open their eyes to all the history which you know regarding the Princess Charlotte, which they will not believe one word about, but will only consider a further proof of conspiracy. On this point, however, he is uncontrollable, and nothing will convince him. What confirms me in his illness is, that Bloomfield was to have written to me two days ago to settle about our reception, &c. &c.; he has not done so, and I am persuaded the King cannot leave town, and he don't like to acknowledge this.

I heard a story—I don't vouch for the truth of it—that the Duke of Gloucester and Lord Craven had had some very high words at Coombe Abbey, where the former was

on a visit. It began from strong opinions expressed by the former regarding the Queen, which the latter attacked; and it ended in the Royal personage going from his visit under great displeasure, and the visited declaring that he should never come to his house again. There may be no truth in this; but I rather believe it, because I *know* Lord Craven informed the King that he was to have this visit; that he regretted it, but it was an old invitation, and he could not put it off; otherwise, the behaviour of the Duke of Gloucester regarding the Queen was such that he never should have invited him. The King is outrageous with the Duke of Gloucester for not attending the University Address. I take it for granted Lord G—— goes with his, which will mark the neglect still stronger.

I hope you observed our personal allusions to the King's conduct in our Address; I doubt if he will receive such another from any part of the kingdom.

If I hear anything further, you shall immediately know it; and I probably shall in a few days.

Ever truly yours,

W. H. F.

MR. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Llangedwin, Dec. 19, 1820.

I hear that Canning has given way to the continued omission of the Queen from the Liturgy, as conceiving it preferable to an omission in the payment of his salary, and will continue the same cordial support to Castlereagh which he has hitherto afforded.

I suppose that the Opposition will be compelled to move an amendment to the Address, though they are fully aware how disadvantageous and injudicious a mode of attack that is.

The next question, and that on which they will get the best division, will be the omission in the Liturgy. I have not yet heard what the sum to be proposed for her establishment is. I think that she is in equity, under her marriage settlement, entitled to £50,000, which has been, in a great degree, recognised by the vote of the House of Commons in 1814, though, on a *quantum meruit*, pence might be a fitter allowance than pounds. I hope, therefore, that that will be the sum proposed; and cannot conceive that she will have a dozen to vote for putting her on the same footing as the late Queen, agreeable to the notice which has been given. As far as I can judge, I believe the *reaction* now going on in the public mind to be very strong against her, and that the parlour, and even the shop, are becoming nearly as unanimous that way, as the servants'-hall and alehouse the other.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

On the 20th December Mr. Canning resigned the Presidentship of the Board of Control and his place in Council, as was alleged, in consequence of dissatisfaction with the recent proceedings of the Government in reference to the Queen.

It has been surmised that an instinct, of which he had already given some examples, prompted him to desert what many considered a sinking ship. The affair is thus described by one of his colleagues:—"The interval since I last wrote to you has been an unpleasant one. Liverpool went to Walmer in a very uneasy state of mind and spirits, and during his absence I had some painful commu-

nications at C—— H—— [Carlton House]. C—— [Canning] followed him to Walmer, where he stayed three or four days, and on Saturday he returned. On Tuesday, C—— circulated a draft of a letter from himself to the King, containing his resignation, and on Wednesday the letter was laid before his Majesty. I was immediately sent for to C—— H——. The King, however, I know, was taken by surprise. * * * It is a most unfortunate circumstance, and involves us in very serious difficulties. He means to go abroad. It appears to me to be very doubtful, from the irritability of one great house, and the restlessness of a greater, whether the Government will hold together."[1]

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Dec. 26, 1820.

MY DEAR LORD,

Since I wrote to you last, I have dined with the K——, who was all gracious and civil; but nothing passed on the subject of politics. I thought him infinitely better in health and spirits for the few days' quiet he had enjoyed in this neighbourhood. The party did not break up till past twelve o'clock. The only persons besides the Princess's families were, besides Mrs. Fremantle and Miss Hervey, Lord and Lady Harcourt.—He eat a great quantity—but no meat—and sang the whole evening, and was in much more cheerful spirits.—He is gone to Brighton, where there is a little *snug* party, consisting only of his own men, Lady Blomfield, and Lord and Lady Conyngham; and I

[1] Dean Pellew's "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 337.

have no doubt he will remain there as long as he can. He talked of coming here again, in which case I should probably see him.

From all I learn, I am quite persuaded his Ministers have now made up their minds to try the experiment of fighting the question of the Liturgy. It is certainly right that he should know that the thing is not totally to be abandoned if they fail—for this was his impression, I am quite sure, when I last wrote to you. I have no doubt I shall, somehow or other, have the means of letting him know this, and your opinions; but it must depend on the accident of meeting him. A trip to Brighton is quite out of the question; it would create suspicion; and ten to one I should not see him.

I doubt if Peel will be prevailed on to take office. They are trying hard; but I cannot see how it can answer to him, nor in truth do I think he would be any great gain to them. My own opinion is, that they will shuffle and cut and make some change of office—that is, by putting Wellesley Pole or B. Bathurst, or something of this sort, in the India Board, and bringing Huskisson or some minor character forward.

I have great fears about your Bucks Address; I think it is better altogether to let *well alone*, for fear of raising a flame you cannot subdue. However, you must be the best judge; and if numbers are wanted for a meeting, I shall not fail to attend.

You may depend on hearing from me if anything occurs.—The Duke of Gloucester is returned to Bagshot; I shall probably see him in a day or two. Nothing can *go* on *so bad* as this *ménage*. I doubt if it can last, with all the exertions which are making to make it worse. *She* will not give up her family, and *he* will not associate with

them.—The Duke of Sussex is seriously ill. I don't know his complaint, but I hear something spinal.

Ever truly yours,

W. H. F.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dec. 26, 1820.

I return you Fremantle's letter; it tells me no more than I had already collected from what is passing.

I do believe that there is arising in the country enough of a Royalist spirit and feeling to have enabled such a man as Pitt, with his courage and abilities, and with some foundation of natural personal popularity, to avail himself of it, and by putting a speedy end, *quoquo modo*, to the discussions about the Queen's business, to make a good stand for the maintenance of Government.

But it is needless to remark, that these people have neither decision of mind to view their situation in its true light, nor the means of acting upon it in such a course as could alone extricate their master and themselves from all their difficulties.

On the other hand, it is no less evident that *he* satisfies himself with talking about his situation, and does not feel reliance enough upon himself to act upon it in either of the two ways which are alone open to him—that of making himself the active partisan and supporter of his present system, and lending himself fully to every exertion of personal aid which he could still give them, by appearing in public, holding his levees, opening his house, &c. &c.; or, on the other hand, of opening immediate communication for a capitulation, the terms of which, irksome as they would now be, must daily become more and more so by the inevitable course of events, independently of those peculiar

circumstances of personal temper which are unhappily so evident even in this moment, and will certainly not lose their force by the continuance of the contest.

The Ministers have chosen for their field of battle precisely the very weakest post in their whole position; and though personally (if I took any personal part in these things) I should not have an instant's hesitation in voting against any party interference with the manner in which the K—— in Council, as head of the Church, has directed his family to be prayed for, yet I have hardly a doubt, from what I hear, that the majority of this House of Commons will think otherwise.

As to Canning, I am certainly no admirer of any part of his conduct, past, present, or likely to come, on the subject of the Q——; but I must, after all, in fairness, say that the past having been such as it has, I do not see how he could at this time continue in office to advise, conduct, and answer for the K——'s measures against her.

I know nothing of Peel, nor have any clue to guess his intentions; but I am clear that it would be little short of an act of direct insanity for any man not already involved in this mass of difficulty to go voluntarily and implicate himself in it.

If I had no other ground for this opinion—and, unfortunately, there are a thousand good reasons for it—I should think it quite enough to look at the way in which, in such a moment, these Ministers are up, running about in every direction—the Duke of Wellington to Chester, Bathurst to Longleat and I know not where else, Harrowby to Dawlish, and letting the K—— himself go to Brighton, leaving everything at sixes and sevens, and trusting to live through the next month as they can, till the meeting of Parliament brings on the great crisis.

Truly, if they can, or think they can, do anything to prop up their Government, they ought to be actively employed in the measures for that purpose; and if they cannot, they owe it to him to tell him so at once, and plainly.

But as for any idea of their asking others to join them, in the very moment of their approaching, and, as they themselves seem to consider it, inevitable defeat, it does seem that they are not absurd enough to expect it; nor, if they did, could any reasonable man entertain the notion, without very different ideas of their personal fitness for taking their part in such a contest than the past can allow us to entertain.

I am sure you know I say this from no personal indisposition to them. My early habits and predilections were with them. I have long since and totally forgotten whatever of personal controversy the events of political life interposed between us, and I have with great pleasure resumed with some of them the course of old friendships. Nor am I indisposed—but quite the contrary—to the cause which, unhappily for itself and for us all, is now committed into their hands.

I wish it success; and as far as the conduct of an independent and disconnected man goes, I think you are bound to contribute to it if you can. But your worst enemy could wish you nothing worse than that you should mix yourself up with all the mischief which must, I fear, inevitably result from their unfitness to contend with such a storm, though in peace and in calm they might, as others far inferior to them in qualifications have done, navigate the vessel safely in a course already tracked and known.

So, here ends my sermon.—God bless you.

I have not read Grey's Durham speech—I have no pleasure in such reading, and abstain from it all I can. But it is only justice to say that Grey did in the House of Lords declare that his vote was given on the ground of *not guilty*—admitting and condemning what he thought great *improprieties* in her conduct, but not thinking the case of *adultery* sufficiently proved.

I do not agree with him, as you know, in this opinion; but it is not fair to impute it to him now as an inconsistency.

As for Bucks, I know not who your sheriff is, but I trust he is one who will refuse, as his Berkshire neighbour has done, to call a meeting; and if one is called by the four or five gentlemen of that party in this county, I should most strongly *dissuade* your giving it so much countenance as to attend it and make it the scene of a contest. You would be much stronger in the shape of a counter-Address in that case.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Dec. 29, 1820.

My dear Lord,

Since I wrote to you last, we have had a great deal of discussion regarding our presenting the Address. Lord Sidmouth interfered, and said it would give offence to others if it were received as a body; and the King then deputed me to select six gentlemen, which was utterly impossible without giving offence; so that it has ended at last in its going to the Secretary of State. This negotiation, however, has brought me in contact with the King, who was graciously pleased to see me yesterday, and kept me nearly an hour. After the first two or three sentences about the Address, he entered upon politics and the Queen

and, in short, as you may suppose, talking the whole time, there was hardly anything he did not touch upon. It was evident from his language that his Ministry was undecided up to the moment when he left town; for he said more than once, "If my Government remain, or if partial changes take place, which must be the case, it is necessary for them now to meet the questions manfully. The tide of public opinion has changed, and they must profit by it. If they surrender, they give up the monarchy—the constitution—all that we hold sacred; for Lord Grey, by his speech at Durham, has shown his connexion and his determination to unite with the Radicals. He has declared (contrary to his declaration in the Lords) that, if he had had to decide on the Queen, he should have said Not guilty. This was at once deciding against him, and against all that ought to be held sacred and moral." I only give this as a small specimen; but his invective against Lord Grey was stronger and more violent than I can possibly repeat. At the same time, I should imagine, though undoubtedly he did not say anything that approached it, that he was doubtful whether his Government meant to stand stout. The language of the Ministers' friends is, that they mean to try the question of the Liturgy; and if they are beat, then to resign in a body. I believe this to be the real truth, and I know they have been urged to this by several county members. It is impossible to describe how full the King was of the Oxford Address. Pray tell Lord Grenville this, if he is with you (which the papers state). He described over and over again all the enthusiasm of loyalty betrayed in the forgetfulness of all decorum after he had left the throne. He spoke of their clapping him on the back; of their great numbers; but, above all, of the dignified and proper manner in which the Chancellor read the Address,

every word of which he praised in the highest terms. I thought he looked very ill—certainly worse than when I had before seen him, though a short time since; and conversing with Bloomfield he said the same thing; but he was greatly collected, his eyes animated, and full of the subjects he discussed—unfortunately still harping on all the idle and miserable intrigues about the Princess Charlotte. What, however, most struck me, and what I am most anxious to observe to you, was his increased hostility and indignation against the Opposition, and more personally against Lord Grey.

I see they are trying hard to manufacture Addresses against the Government from different counties. Here in Berks they will get a flaming one; but I doubt their success in many others. I own I have great fears in your attempting a loyal one in Bucks; I have no doubt of the northern side, but I am sure you would find a strong opposition from the southern quarter; and as it must be held—the meeting—at Aylesbury, this would operate very much against it. *Any failure would be most unfortunate*—and they would move heaven and earth to beat you; any amendment, even, would have the effect of a victory. The Russells, Cavendishes, — everything that could be mustered would come forward; so that I own I should fear the attempt. Pray let me know if it should take place, as I would certainly attend; and should the Radicals attempt an Address on their part, then I think we should at once muster every strength, and fight them. I hope, in such a case, we should beat them.

I cannot find out the full extent of Lord S——'s history. I believe it exaggerated; but I have no doubt, from what I have heard, that there has been a scene. He is not recalled; but I believe it is understood he is to come home.

I rather expect that Sir Henry Wellesley, from Madrid, will succeed him, provided this Government stands.

As to what is to become of the Board of Control, I have not a guess. I can't believe Peel will, at such a moment, plunge himself in such a troubled lake, nor can I see to what quarter they can look, in their present distracted and unsettled state, for a connexion; it is another thing supporting the measures that may be brought forward.

I am invited to meet the King at dinner to-morrow; and if I hear anything worth relating, you shall have a letter.

Ever truly yours,
W. H. F.

LORD CASSILIS TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Culzean Castle, Dec. —.

I received your letter, my dear Lord Buckingham, when writhing under a fit of the gout, the legacy of the Bill of Pains and Penalties which you made me vote for. God help us! as the saying is; for what is to become of us, He only knows. There seems nothing but chaos and desolation whatever way a man turns himself: the middle classes of the people waging war upon the higher orders; the tenantry taking advantage of the times to conspire against their landlords; and the lower orders existing only from the circumstance of the produce of land being unmarketable: barley two shillings a bushel, oats nearly the same, and no sale for wheat at any price. The weavers are certainly all employed here, but cannot earn more than from six to eight shillings a week. Such is our state. The finance of the country is "opportunely" a little improved. Had it retrograded a little, the King was over with us; and there yet hangs out insurmountable evil. I think I hear

you say, "*What a gloomy dog!*" *And so I am*, because I cannot see *daylight* in any direction. I cannot agree about a reduction of our army: a soldier less, and we shall have revolution and civil war. Those people under whose protection we should be put if the army was reduced, would, as Rollo says, "cover and devour us." It's all really dreadful. I have not since I saw you heard a reasonable conjecture even about the Administration's fate or plans. I think that Canning will stick to Liverpool; Morley told me *he would positively*. I should not be displeased to see a separation between Liverpool and Castlereagh. I think it very probable that the Opposition will take the King by storm, backed as they are and will be by the people, as they are called. The Addresses to the King as yet are feeble and poor, nothing like *heart* appearing. If the Opposition get in, they will let fly a set of measures calculated to secure popularity at starting, but which in the end will bring ruin, *absolute*, upon the country. It does not appear possible to me for the Government to get on, when Parliament meets, if the present fever in the public mind does not abate. I will not bore you any more with my lamentations. Pray do give me some consolation if you can, and at any rate be kind enough to let me know when anything political is stirring. What would I not have given to have been *behind the screen* at Lord Grenville's audience!—The weather here is nearly as bad as the times.

Ever, my dear Lord Buckingham,

Your truly faithful

CASSILIS.

29971

MR. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Llangedwin, Dec. 31, 1820.

MY DEAR B——,

I hear from Phillimore that the successor to Canning still remains undetermined. If Peel would accept it, or were rather to succeed Vansittart, my opinion of the probability of the present Government standing would be more strengthened than by any other event whatever. My estimate of Peel is, I am aware, higher than yours. I agree with you that he cannot supply the effect of one of Canning's glittering, eloquent speeches; still, he combines greater advantages at this moment than any other man in the House of Commons.

Talent, independent fortune, official habits and reputation, and, above all, general character both in and out of Parliament, have, I am persuaded, disposed more men to follow and more to unite with him than any person whom you can name among us. I do not deny the objections arising from want of family and connexion, from the irritability he has shown of late, and from the drubbing which Brougham gave him last year; but still you must remember that you can name no one who has not greater difficulties to encounter, and fewer advantages to assist him. Phillimore tells me that he hears that he has refused to connect himself with the Administration, from disapprobation of their gross mismanagement during the late business. If this were true, I should have more hope of the possibility of forming a fresh Government, in the event of the present falling, than I have yet entertained. I think he is not ill-inclined to back out of the Catholic question, and that that was the meaning of his proposed going abroad for a twelvemonth after his marriage; but I have no personal

acquaintance with him to make my opinion on this subject worth anything.

Ever affectionately yours,
C. W. W.

"The King is improved in health and spirits," writes the Home Secretary to Lord Exmouth, "and you may rest assured he will be firmly supported by his Government, which, however, cannot serve him usefully unless they are also firmly supported by Parliament. We have taken our determination. The Queen will neither be harassed nor molested; but to a palace; and to the insertion of her name in the Liturgy, we shall never consent; and if Parliament should differ from us on these points, the Government must fall. But the reports from our friends are extremely satisfactory."[1]

[1] Dean's Pellew's "Life of Lord Sidmouth," vol. iii. p. 340.

CHAPTER IV.

[1821.]

LETTER FROM THE KING TO LORD ELDON ON LIBELLOUS PUBLICATIONS—CLAIMS OF THE QUEEN—LORD CASTLEREAGH'S ATTACK ON LORD ERSKINE—POSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT—CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION—FAMILY QUARRELS—SUGGESTED JUNCTION OF THE GRENVILLES WITH THE GOVERNMENT—MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM PROPOSED BY THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AS LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND—PREPARATIONS FOR THE CORONATION—NEGOTIATIONS—INFLUENCE OF "THE LADY"—QUEEN CAROLINE AT THE CORONATION.

CHAPTER IV.

DURING the late discussions respecting the Queen, the freedom of a certain portion of the press had known no bounds. When the tide of popular opinion began to turn, it was thought advisable that some effort should be made to restrain it within the limits of decency, and punish offenders; and one of the most eager to take advantage of the change was the illustrious individual who had suffered most from the abuse.

THE KING TO LORD ELDON.

Brighton, Jan. 9, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

As the Courts of Law will now open within a few days, I am desirous to know the decision that has been taken by the Attorney-General upon the mode in which all the vendors of treason, and libellers, such as Benbow, &c. &c, are to be prosecuted. This is a measure so vitally indispensable to my feelings, as well as to the country, that I must *insist* that no *further* loss of time should be suffered to elapse before proceedings be instituted. It is *clear* beyond dispute, from the improvement of the public mind, and the loyalty which the country is now everywhere displaying, *if properly cultivated and turned to the best advantage by Ministers*, that the Government will

thereby be enabled to *repair* to the *country* and to *me*, those evils of the magnitude of which there can be but one opinion. This I write to you in your double capacity as a friend and a Minister; and I wish, under the *same* feelings to Lord Sidmouth, that you would communicate my opinions and determination to him.

Always, my dear Lord,

Very sincerely yours,

G. R.

The ferment that had so long agitated society was maintained with much heat in political circles, and rumours of Ministerial changes were rife, as had often previously been the case, just before the meeting of Parliament. At this crisis, the intermediate party of the Grenvilles were daily gaining importance in the eyes of both Whigs and Tories, and, as will be shown, its policy became a question of absorbing interest to its leaders. The Queen still managed to keep herself prominently before the public, and was using her best exertions among her supporters in the House of Commons to force the Government to allow her advantages and privileges claimed by her as belonging to her rank—her name in the Liturgy, and a palatial residence, with a corresponding income, being the chief. On these points the correspondence will be found to be peculiarly illustrative.

DR. PHILLIMORE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Doctors' Commons, Jan. 16, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I am naturally desirous of ascertaining, by the only mode of communication which seems open to me, your general opinion and sentiments as to the outline of the course we ought to shape in the stormy debates we shall probably have so speedily to encounter. Our situation as a party appears to be more critical than it has ever been. The Ministers have conducted themselves with great imbecility and indecision, and the Opposition have distinguished themselves by their violence and intemperance; and under these circumstances we are looked upon as a rallying point between the two extremes, and our opinion is very anxiously looked for by many persons who wish, if they can, to make it the guide of their conduct. It seems to me, therefore, very desirable to consider, as much as we can beforehand, any of the questions on which we may be called upon to give an opinion. The two first points expected to be brought forward are the Liturgy and the Palace. With respect to the Liturgy, I am strongly inclined to think, upon an examination of the subject (for at first I had considerable doubt upon it), that the King has the right to do as he has done; and though I do not think his exercise of the right discreet or advisable under the circumstances, still if he had the right, I should not be disposed to hold that the Queen's name ought *now* to be placed in the Liturgy. The general opinion of lawyers is, I think, unfavourable to the King's claim; but then, perhaps, that opinion is frequently given without any examination of the subject.

On the Palace, I feel no difficulties. If we are to allow her—as I understand it is to be proposed that we shall—

£50,000 per annum, she may well afford to pay rent for her habitation.

Questions may be expected to be raised also as to the policy of Government in bringing forward any measure against the Queen, and as to their mode of conducting it when brought forward. On both of these points it appears to me that much blame is imputable to the Ministers; but these are questions which cannot be brought forward substantively for some days at least, and therefore I trust I shall have an opportunity of discussing them with you before any occasion can arise on which we may be called upon to give any opinion respecting them.

The Address, I suppose, will be such as not necessarily to compromise those who vote for it to any opinion as to the wisdom of Ministers; but I think, however bad, in point of tactics in general, it may be to propose an amendment, that, under existing circumstances, an amendment must be moved. The query then is, whether we should explain our vote? and if we do, what should be the nature of that explanation?

The Government people either are, or pretend to be, in better spirits than they were three weeks ago; but I have great doubts whether they will be able to withstand the storm;—at all events, if they do, they will be severely shattered; all will depend on whether they can get their friends to vote. They very much encourage the idea that we are to support them, and to take office at or about Easter; but this is a *ruse de guerre* resorted to at the opening of every session.—I never witnessed more dismay than was excited by a rumour very much circulated last week, that Plunket was to take an active part against the Government.

Another report set on foot is, that the King is very

desirous that the Government may be beaten on the Address, as it will give him a good excuse to get rid of them.

I fear there is little chance of Wynn's coming to London till the last moment; but I have not heard anything from him on this point.

Believe me, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's obliged and faithful servant,

JOSEPH PHILLIMORE.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, Jan. 24, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I waited till now to write to you, to give you my opinion on the first appearance of things. The House of Commons is evidently determined to support the Ministers, and I see the Opposition think so, for they are not near so triumphant as I should have expected; and there are strong symptoms already of dissension between the Mountain and Whigs; the former are turbulent to a degree, and tried once or twice yesterday to stop debate by noise and clamour; and the few words I had with your brother[1] showed me *he* was discontented. He said the Opposition were destroying their own game, and that there was no hope; that they were milk-and-water, and did not seize the advantages they possessed. From this it is clear their meeting at Burlington House was not quite satisfactory, and I am persuaded the violent ones wished for an amendment.—The Liturgy question is to be argued on the point of law, which is the best thing that could happen to Ministers; and the Opposition are to object to the sum of £50,000 (which is

[1] Lord Nugent.

the proposed amount of the allowance), as not being enough. This will throw the odium of the burthen, and even of the proposition, on the Opposition, which is also advantageous to Government.—Never was anything, however, so low and wretched as the Treasury Bench. It is quite disgraceful and contemptible, and not even upheld by its adherents and followers. They all say it cannot go on; but, nevertheless, *I think* it will, for there is a determination not to take the Whigs. This more and more confirms the propriety of our line of moderate but quiet support, and disconnecting ourselves with the responsibility of all their measures. I took an opportunity before I left the country of saying to *the sister* fully all you wished. I had two hours' private communication with her.—I spent two days —Friday and Saturday last—at Dropmore. I found Lord G—— thoroughly convinced these people could not stand, and that the Whigs must come in, but equally decided as to our not joining either. So far, he need be under no apprehension of the latter; for until necessity demands it, I don't think the application will be made. He fancies a Whig Government could not last six months, reasoning from the conduct of George III.; but in this I am persuaded he would find himself deceived, for the same decision and steadiness of mind does not belong to his successor. And should the change once take place, new attachments and habits would prevail, and obliterate all former anger.—The Government say their majority on Friday will be seventy. I think more, by the symptoms of yesterday.

Nothing could be so wretched as the mover and seconder, or so tame as Tierney.—I shall finish this at the House.

Half-past Five o'clock.

Nothing material has occurred. Petitions are presenting

by hundreds, and much violent language accompanying them; but Castlereagh keeping very cool, and refusing all discussion—the Opposition manifesting great impetuosity and violence, and, I think, hurting themselves. Lord Tavistock has given a notice for Monday se'nnight of a motion of general condemnation of the Ministers for their proceedings regarding the Queen. I cannot give you the exact words.

W. H. F.

As might have been expected, soon after the meeting of Parliament, two or three of the Opposition members began an active agitation in favour of the Queen; but the majority of the members were opposed to much discussion on the subject, and it became evident that her cause was daily losing ground in that assembly. On the 26th of January, during a debate on a motion respecting the omission of the Queen's name in the Liturgy, Lord Castlereagh made a forcible reply to the attacks upon his colleagues, in which he vindicated the conduct of the Government, and taunted the Opposition with their proceedings against the Queen on former occasions. His argument was directed against Lord Erskine, who had recently, in the House of Lords, while referring to the Queen, expressed himself offensively towards Ministers; but Lord Grenville's friends considered that he was attacked, and were warm in their indignation. Lord Grenville and Mr. Thomas Grenville, however, were more tolerant.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, Jan. 31, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

After I received your letter, I called at Lord Liverpool's, but could not gain admittance; since that, I have been considering more fully the subject, and think that any explanation now, after the lapse of so many days, and when the whole debate is gone by, could lead to no one advantage; and I fear also that Lord Grenville might fancy I improperly interfered on a question so personally concerning himself. I have no doubt Lord Liverpool would ask me if I were authorized by him to express his anger, or to call for an explanation; and he would probably write to Lord Grenville upon the subject. The offence was undoubtedly great, and such as you were justified in resenting; but I am thoroughly persuaded it was one of Lord Castlereagh's bothering Irish arguments which led him on, and that it was no premeditated attack on your friends. His object was to lay it on Lord Erskine; and in the conversations I have since had with his friends, they have told me he was extremely sorry that your friends should have felt hurt, that he never meant it, and that his only object was to expose the conduct of Lord Erskine. All this, you will say, may be very true, but is no excuse to you; but again I must say, what could you have done? Lord Liverpool could not give up Lord Castlereagh, and you could not resent it so as to vote with the Whigs. The Government are already apprized of your feeling and that of your friends on this subject, and I have no doubt—at least, I should think—it would put them more on their guard. I really think it might be considered by Lord Grenville as very officious in me to call on the Prime Minister to take up his battle without any pre-

vious communication or authority from him. I could undoubtedly say it was your feelings I was expressing; but the answer would naturally be, that Lord Grenville personally was concerned. However, the lapse of time is at present the additional objection, and no apology could answer to you or your friends but a public explanation from Castlereagh, which could not be made. I assure you I have been very much disturbed by your letter, being always anxious to obey your wishes and forward your objects, and in the first place called on Lord L—— for that purpose.

The debate yesterday was much more violent and personal than the first—at least, previous to the Speaker's leaving the chair. I left the House after that, and know not what was done. The evident disposition of the House is to stifle all further proceedings regarding the Queen, but it is equally the intention of the Opposition to pursue it; but the latter must ultimately give way, for the House will not hear them. The saints—Butterworth, Wilberforce, &c. &c.—are favourable for her restoration to the Liturgy, and this question is to be brought forward again, but of course will be rejected by a still larger majority.

I see that Charles Wynn and Phillimore are so decidedly disposed to the Opposition, that their minds are at all times on the alert to catch an opportunity of attacking the Government. I certainly do not support or think well of the Government, but I am *quite satisfied* that nothing short of a total overthrow of everything would induce the Whigs to unite with you; and I am equally satisfied that the only and best prospect of office is to keep terms with the present Government, not with a view of joining them, but of keeping them unfettered and unexasperated for any future arrangements.

That some change must soon take place cannot be doubted, and be assured that Parliament *will not* have the Whigs. Canning, it is said, will not return to the Board of Control; and the Ministers' followers all hold the language of change after these questions are got over. I give you these opinions of my own, and what I hear, and be assured there is no being more eager or more watchful of your interests and objects than I am. I shall keep this open till I go down to the House, in case there should be anything new.—The Duke of Devonshire is come to town a thorough Reformist: this is a conversion; as also Lord Fitzwilliam. It is hardly possible to conceive that their anger should have led them to such a thorough departure from all their old feelings and principles.

There is nothing new. Lushington was most violent last night; and nobody believes Admiral Wood's assertion that the Queen has no bills or debts.

Ever most truly,
W. H. F.

MR. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

My dear B——,

We cannot argue the question of the expediency or the original omission, without consuming more paper and time than I can afford; but it still appears to me—1st. That at that time Ministers had not decided to bring the business forward, or to publish the Queen's infamy; 2ndly. That though I am myself perfectly satisfied of the King's prerogative, it was so far disputable as to render such an exercise of it very unwise; 3rdly. That there could have been no greater difficulty or impropriety in proceeding, if it should afterwards be rendered necessary by her coming to England, against "our gracious Queen Caroline," than

against "the Princess of Wales," prayed for the preceding Sunday. As to the phrase of "gracious," it is a mere title of honour attached to the station, and far less objectionable than "most religious," which *Charles II.* was the first sovereign who assumed, and which produces little sensation even when used as an epithet to *some* of his successors. Still, if they were mealy-mouthed, they might have inserted "Her Majesty Queen Caroline." I should also have wished to have sent a yacht, or suitable conveyance, to bring her over to her trial,—just as, if she had been found guilty on an impeachment, and sentenced to transportation, I would not have despatched her to Portsmouth in the caravan, or to Botany Bay in a transport. To neither of these, however, did I attach as much blame as to the not notifying the death of the Princess Charlotte, which I think the most brutal omission I ever remember, and one which would attach disgrace in private life, even in a case where a divorce was pending, or had actually taken place.

My great objection is to the spirit of irritation and provocation which dictated the whole, as if they wished to goad her into the course she has since pursued, instead of endeavouring by all means in their power to avert what every other man in the kingdom felt to be a most hazardous and perilous crisis.

I am much inclined to think that you are quite right as to the key which explains Peel's conduct. Still, I hear from all sides how *we* are to come in after Easter. This may proceed either from a desire to strengthen themselves by really combining us with Peel in a new arrangement, or (which I think more probable) from a design of cajoling us into present support.

An apology was transmitted to me from Castlereagh, through Lewis, for his attack on the Commission of 1806,

professing it to have been quite *inadvertent*, and merely levelled at Erskine, without *recollecting* that Lord Grenville was equally implicated.

I certainly hear from many quarters that the country gentlemen are loud in their representations to Ministers of the necessity of their strengthening themselves, if they wish for a continuance of support. Probably this will be answered by Canning's return, and the accession of Peel.

I have just heard, on the authority of a man who told me that he had seen Lady O——'s letter, that H—— A—— having eloped from Florence with her second daughter, she followed them, and when she found them, he had taken poison. Now, why they should take the trouble of eloping, and, still more, why he should take poison, is not easy to conceive.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Feb. 1, 1821.

My brother has just shown me your letter, and I trust I need not assure you that I am, as always, most deeply sensible of your affectionate kindness; but I am perfectly *horrified* at the notion which it has suggested to you, on an occasion which surely does not call for the smallest manifestation of any resentment or dissatisfaction whatever.

If you support Government on these questions about the Queen, it is not at all from any particular attachment to Lord C——, or any of his colleagues, but from what you think due both to the King and to the country, to contribute, as far as you can, to resist the degradation which the Radicals and their allies would bring on the first, and the

ruin which must, if they succeed in that attempt, ensue to the country.

It would be most unjust to require Lord C——, in this warfare, to abstain from a natural and obvious ground of defence. I am not so unreasonable as to expect this, if I cared one farthing about anything that can be said of that inquiry, in which, if I cared at all, it was in being too easily satisfied. Nor am I so thin-skinned as to have any feeling on the subject; and the only thing that could have made it at all unpleasant to me would be the appearance (which such a step as you speak of must have) of my being angered on the occasion, and having used any influence I might have with you to the effect of inducing you to act contrary certainly to all my opinions and wishes, and, I believe, contrary to your own.

Pray—pray, therefore, let all your friends, if they and you agree with me in thinking Lord Tavistock's motion fit to be negatived, cry "No!" as stoutly as I would if I had anything to say or do on the occasion.

RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Feb. 1, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD B——,

The two brothers here are quite astounded at the importance which you and Charles attach to Lord Castlereagh's attack upon the Government of 1806-7, and still more at the influence which both of you seem disposed to give to it in your conduct on the impending motions in Parliament. In the first place, it is to be observed that it is not fair dealing to expect Castlereagh to forbear from attacking Lord Grey, Lord Lansdowne, and Mr. Tierney, on their hostility to the Queen fourteen years ago, because he cannot do so without including Lord Grenville, as well as

Lord Spencer and Lord Erskine, as members of that Government. I think Lord C—— fully entitled to reproach that inconsistency of conduct to Lord Grey and his colleagues—an inconsistency which in no degree applies to Lord Grenville; but even if it did, surely Lord C—— is not to be deprived of his legitimate warfare upon those to whom he is opposed, because Lord Grenville was in those days politically connected with them. But even supposing that you had reason in this respect to complain of Lord C—— (which I utterly deny), still it would be a most unjustifiable, and unbecoming, and culpable course, to suffer any such personal considerations to influence your conduct upon the great public questions which are impending. Those questions are to decide whether the Opposition is to be suffered, from its base alliance with the Radicals and with the Q——, to take violent possession of the Government, in order to overturn the whole system of our constitution; to bring in annual or triennial Parliaments; to do little short of introducing universal suffrage; to disband the army, which now holds the Radicals in check; and, very probably, to let loose Bonaparte, under pretence of mitigating his confinement. These are some of the first fruits of what is to be expected from Lord Tavistock's motion, if, by its success, it removes the present Government; and can you look at any part of this picture, and yet suffer any personal considerations to weigh for one moment in your mind, while such superior considerations are at stake? I could have added much upon the disgrace you would throw on Lord Grenville, if he could be suspected, as he would, of being a party to so much personal irritation in questions of the very vital existence of the constitution of the country. But he writes himself.

The next letter commences with a reference to the

judgment passed by Judge Bailey on that popular leader, Sir Francis Burdett. It was merely a fine of £2000, and imprisonment for three months in the King's Bench:—

MR. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall, Feb. 10, 1821.

I agree with you in considering the sentence on Burdett —a sentence so unexpected as to call for the plaudits of all the Radicals who surrounded the Court, and the congratulations of his friends—as most calamitous; and, unfortunately, it is not the first instance in which the Court of King's Bench, or rather the present judges who preside in it, have shown that they are not proof against popular clamour and the apprehension of personal danger. On the reduction of the army, I am by no means so sure that I agree with you. I have not the means of estimating the exact quantum of troops which may be requisite for preserving the internal tranquillity of the country, but am inclined to believe that the salutary operation of the Bills of 1819, and the increase which has taken place in the Yeomanry, do afford a reasonable expectation that a less number of regulars will now be sufficient than were before required—and unless I was quite satisfied to the contrary, I am not prepared to complain of any measure which tends to alleviate the financial pressure.

It is quite true that there are symptoms of some understanding between Castlereagh and Peel, though the speech of the latter plainly stated his disapprobation on several points of the conduct of Government. The most decisive is his abandonment of Pitt's old Hill Fort, which he had

occupied, and returning to his former position in the rear of the Treasury Bench.

The debate last night was much more decidedly in favour of Government than either of the former—at least, so it appeared to me; but perhaps I may be prejudiced, from having taken a part in it. Wilberforce made a remarkably feeble, vacillating speech, and at last turning the scale in favour of the motion by the make-weight of popular opinion, which he allowed to be formed on false and mistaken principles. Lamb spoke most strongly against the motion, but concluded by voting in its favour, because the question had so much disturbed the country, that the true honour would belong to the party which first conceded it. Acland's was one of the most impressive and efficient speeches I ever heard. And on this state of the debate, Castlereagh most wisely, and to the great satisfaction of the House, allowed us to go to a division at a quarter before one, instead of keeping us till six or seven, which would have been the inevitable consequence of his speaking. To our great amusement, Creevey, Fergusson, Wilson, Lambton, and Sefton were shut out, and afterwards received the inquiries of their friends whether it was not from scruples of conscience, and being unable to make up their minds, that they had abstained from voting. The party is certainly unlucky; for on a preceding night, Lord Carhampton and Luke White paired off and went comfortably to bed, without finding out that they were on the same side. We now, I trust, are rid of the Queen's business, though I still fear we must have one night on the Milan Commission; but nobody has yet given notice of a motion on the subject.

I was rather surprised on Monday night to find Ministers so weak as to be totally unable to risk a division on

Davie Gilbert's proposal of throwing Grampound into the Hundreds, and that afterwards, when joined by us and by several members from the Opposition, they were beaten two to one; much, I think, owing to Ward's speech. I have now, I think, sent you gossip enough for one day.

Ever yours,

C. W. W.

Have you heard that a match is declared between Lord Dartmouth and Lady Frances Talbot? To see them together will be somewhat like Lord Bulkeley and Lord Abingdon at the Encœnia.

One of the principal subjects of political interest was the Catholic question, brought forward in the House of Commons on the 2nd of March by Mr. Plunket, in a Committee of the whole House; and a Bill for the Emancipation of the Catholics was introduced by him on the 7th of the same month, the second reading of which was debated on the 16th, and carried by a majority of 11.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Hanover Place, March 5, 1821.

It is extremely difficult, I believe, even for those most intimately acquainted with the present composition of the House of Commons, to anticipate the final result of the Catholic question. Many things that one hears would lead one to be very sanguine in one's hopes; but then, the difficulties are so great of steering between groundless fears on one side and groundless jealousies on the other, and the means are so great which are possessed by the enemies of conciliation

on both sides, that every step taken in the business is surrounded with danger of failure.

Plunket talks of dividing the measure into two Bills, if he can get Castlereagh to consent to it—one of concession, the other of security; a most wise project, if it can be accomplished. His exertions have been beyond all praise, and the tone of moderation which he has given to the discussion must do great good, whatever be the result.

I am sorry there was a necessity for giving so much time; but I trust, after the second reading, it will proceed, if at all, with better expedition.

In the House of Lords, the Chancellor and the Bishops will certainly persevere in their resistance; but if there really is that change of course on this subject in higher quarters, which common prudence so loudly calls for, I should not at all fear their opposition.

All will depend on that. But indeed I do not see why Liverpool himself should (on the grounds on which he has always argued the question) be debarred from taking the wiser resolution to acquiesce in such a measure if it comes up from the House of Commons, rather than to set the House of Lords singly to stand in the breach against the claims and wishes of five-sixths of the population of Ireland.

Whether he will be clear-sighted enough to see this course, which I think lies plain before him, or whether he has stoutness enough to adopt it, I know not; but sure I am of what he *ought* to do.

The King must certainly, if he means to go to Ireland in May, mean to carry this boon with him; and if he does, his visit will be productive of more good than one could easily describe. If not,—then, for *good*, read *mischief*.

I send you back your Neapolitan news. My only wish is that the matter was settled, and had been so long ago.

"Lord Lansdowne writes word to a correspondent here," says a contemporary letter-writer, "that everything in England has fallen in price, except the Grenvilles. They certainly have made an excellent bargain, in proportion to their talents, reputation, and numerical strength. Were Lord G—— still in the full vigour of life and exertion, one should not be surprised at any sacrifice made to obtain so powerful a support; but by his retirement from public affairs, one would have thought that the value of the family was reduced near to that of the half-dozen votes they can bring into a division."[1]

The first of the next series refers to a private quarrel that at the period excited a great deal of notoriety:—

RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Square, March 13, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD B——,

Nobody can be more sensible to your kindness in what you have done respecting Henry, than Charles is; neither do I find in him more reluctance respecting his beginning a communication with Lord C—— than is quite natural, and than I think you would yourself approve. The real truth is, that Charles's opinions certainly do not tend as decidedly and as professedly as yours have done to intercourse with the present Ministers, and least of all, perhaps, with Lord C——. It was very kind in you, therefore, to take upon yourself the communication by which you intended to do a

[1] Lord Dudley's "Letters," p. 301.

service to Henry; and when you had so determined, I think you took the least objectionable course in applying yourself to *Lord L*——. By so doing, you effected the very amiable and kind purpose which you had in view, of assisting Henry's wishes without breaking in upon Charles's reluctance to pledge himself farther than he could conscientiously bring himself to do. Having, therefore, yourself taken the step of applying to *Lord L*——, whenever a renewed application becomes necessary by a new opening in the diplomatic line, or by the expectation of one, the easy and natural course of your kindness will be to renew that application yourself to *Lord L*——. If, on the other hand, Charles was to apply himself personally to *Lord C*—— in the present stage of the business, he will be as much and as entirely committed as if he himself had made the original application; and your kindness will not have spared him the embarrassment of becoming a suitor, and of incurring an obligation, where he wishes to stand free of any, except to you. In truth, as far as I understand the present position of the business, it does not seem to me that, after so recent a promise to you from Lord L—— and Lord C——, any renewed application from you or from any of Henry's friends is likely to produce anything except a renewal of the same favourable disposition, whenever occasion should arise. If any circumstances should produce, or even render probable, any new opening in the missions, then will be the natural moment, not for Charles's application to Lord C——, but for the renewal of yours to *Lord L*——. At the same time, I am sure Charles will not be unnecessarily reluctant or adverse to any communication with Lord C—— that may become necessary, or may naturally arise out of your request to Lord L——, and out of such circumstances as may require discussion; but

though the present state of things seems to promise no advantage in any renewed application from you, whenever it does, I am sure you will find Charles heartily and sincerely grateful to you for your warm and disinterested kindness to his brother.—I should distrust, as you do, the result of the Catholic Bill, if every day did not furnish some new evidence which, if correct, seems to promise a more favourable result. Yesterday, I heard of Lord Fife having said that the K—— had told him he did not wish to influence his opinions; and to-day I hear from good authority that Bloomfield has written within these four days, that the K—— will go to Ireland with the certainty of greater and more general popularity than could *have been* conceived..

The language of the opponents, too, is colder and flatter than it has ever been ; rumours—I know not how true—of the Duke of Rutland hesitating on the question, and daily talk of other unexpected votes. Perhaps these rumours are exaggerated ; but still they add to the general tide and current of opinion as to the probable success, and that opinion may go far to procure the result that is so much to be wished.

My own notions are, that there should be no exclusion in the Bill except that of the Lord-Lieutenant, who ought to be as much excluded there as the K—— is here. I would not exclude the Chancellor, because I think first it is a breach of the great principle of the measure ; and secondly, because it will be an irritating bar to and exclusion of the whole legal profession in Ireland, who are the most influencing and formidable body in that whole country, in all times, and on all questions of public agitation. I would, therefore, leave the Seals open to them, and satisfy the Protestants, as to all ecclesiastical dangers, by special com-

missions and clauses for the objects of their apprehensions. But for all practical good, one must learn to be satisfied with what can be reached, when what we desire is out of our reach. Till this measure passes, neither England nor Ireland can be safe.

Yours ever most affectionately,

T. G.

DR. PHILLIMORE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall, March 14, 1821.

My dear Lord,

I feel, indeed, much indebted to your Lordship for your letter of the 11th inst., and we are all grateful to you for your criticisms on the Bills; and this I should have told you before, but that I was entirely occupied by professional business throughout yesterday morning, and, besides, I wished to consult with Lord Grenville (with whom I was engaged to dine yesterday) as to the policy of some of the amendments you have suggested. Some are obviously improvements on the face of them. The difficulty, as I foresaw, arises as to the insertion of the additional words to express, "That no one shall exercise the function of a bishop who shall not have been approved by the King." We discussed this point fully last night, and Lord Grenville is decidedly of opinion (and this he desired me to mention to you, as from him) that if we venture upon it we shall *shipwreck* the whole measure. By having the negative of the King to the nomination of any person whose loyalty and good conduct may be suspected, we surely have, in substance and effect, all the security which can be necessary for the protection of the Protestant establishment; and it would be a sad pity to hazard a measure which, to a certain extent, at least, is happily advanced, for the sake of expressions, preferable certainly, but not essential for our

security. I have been with Plunket on the subject this morning, and his view coincides with Lord Grenville's entirely. He says it would be laid hold of immediately by the enemies to the measure amongst the Catholics, and made the source of much discontent and irritation, and that the rather because the Bill has been transmitted to them in its present shape, as the measure to be proposed on this branch of the subject. I should add, that Plunket expressed the greatest anxiety to concur in any suggestion which came from you.

You suggest the exclusion of Roman Catholics from the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland; but it does not seem to me—and, what is of more consequence, it does not seem to Lord Grenville—that the same reasons exist to exclude them from this office which may be urged against their filling the office of Lord High Chancellor. The Irish Chancellor has not, *virtute officii*, the disposal of Church patronage, nor is he called upon to advise the King in any way respecting it; and the same principle, therefore, which might be applied to exclude them from this function, might be put forward as a ground for their exclusion from the functions of any judge. To say the truth, Lord Grenville is so great an enemy to the principle of exclusion, that he suggested, instead of the clause as it now stands, that no Lord Chancellor should dispose of any Church preferment till he had subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles; but upon suggesting this alteration, we found it would raise such a storm from the Dissenters (who are already moving in all directions against the measure), that there was no option but to abandon it. It will be a satisfaction to you to know that Lord Grenville has been consulted throughout, and has himself revised and corrected the Bills. He appears exceedingly anxious for the success of them; and certainly, when

we reflect how much his public life has been connected and mixed up, as it were, with the Catholic question, we cannot be surprised at the exultation he would naturally feel at witnessing the complete triumph of opinions he has so long and so uniformly held.

The anti-Catholic country gentlemen complain of the apathy of the country; and the King has told Lord Fife he hopes he will vote according to his fancy on the question. These are favourable symptoms.

Believe me, your faithful and obliged,

JOSEPH PHILLIMORE.

MR. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

March 15, 1821.

I am most sensible, my dear B——, of the kindness of your continued and active interest for Henry, and, if I saw anything like an opening, should not hesitate to follow up the overture which you have made in his behalf; but unless some new circumstance had occurred since your letter to Lord Liverpool, which presented a mode of effecting its object, I really should think it too early to make a second application; besides which, I quite agree with my uncle, that, in the present situation of affairs, it is preferable that any application of this nature should, as you have yourself determined, proceed through Lord Liverpool rather than Lord Castlereagh; but if I can get an opportunity of reminding Castlereagh, I certainly will not neglect it.

Everything I see and everything I hear contribute to make me more and more sanguine respecting the Catholic question. The tide clearly sets at present in its favour, and the King's good inclinations are every day more and more

surmised. The principal defalcation of strength which we have to apprehend arises from the present disjointed and divided state of the Opposition, the members of which are outrageous against each other, and, according to Macdonald's report, may be expected by the next Session to split into three or more distinct parties. He did not specify either the persons likely to form these, or the points in dispute. At present one can only see the Mountain and their lukewarm coadjutors; but what the third is to be, remains to be shown. The amendments which you suggest to the Catholic Bills appear to me, in general, improvements, with the exception of the addition of the Chancellorship of Ireland to the excepted offices, and the requiring that the King should signify his *approbation* to the Bishops before the exercise of episcopal functions. Both of these would have the effect of extremely diminishing the *effect* of the measure in Ireland.

Lord Grenville strongly objected to the exception even of the English Chancellor, as justifiable upon no principle, when the exercise of ecclesiastical patronage had been provided for in the other part of the Bill; and it is difficult to discover what principle can justify the exclusion of the Chancellor of Ireland, which would not also extend to every other judicial situation. We must recollect that the Irish Catholic barristers are just the body who have, after the priests, the greatest influence, and whom it is most desirable not to leave a perpetual badge of degradation and inferiority upon. With respect to the necessity of signifying the King's express approbation, it is one of the points which the Irish clergy most objected to, and the omission of which has most reconciled them to the measure; and if the efficient control is attained, it surely is desirable that we should not be nice as to the exact mode in which it shall be

exerted. In my own view—and, what is far more important, in that of my uncle—the question of securities is, from the great alteration in the situation of Europe since 1813, become of comparatively small importance, and rather to be conceded to satisfy the scruples of others, and facilitate the final success of this great measure, than to be insisted upon by ourselves.

Dawson's speech against the army estimates last night occasioned surprise, and looks as if the Catholic question had occasioned some hitch in his *beau-père* Peel's negotiations.

Ever most faithfully yours,

C. W. W.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Pall Mall, March 16, 1821.

My dear Lord,

I am hurried to death by the time, and therefore must make my relation short. I endeavoured to meet the Duke yesterday morning; but failing in this, I enclosed your note to me, saying I owed it to him not to withhold such information for his *private ear*, and desiring him to send me back your note. He sent it back in half an hour, with the enclosed note from himself. This morning he begged to see me; and being on a Committee, and not released till four o'clock, I have only at this moment come from him at his office.

He entered into a very full discussion of the whole business; and, first and foremost, declared in most positive and unequivocal terms, that he was perfectly innocent of the charge imputed to him, and that, fortunately, he had been so guarded in his whole proceedings throughout this disagreeable quarrel between Lord W—— and his wife, that

he should be enabled most fully and clearly to rebut and destroy any charge . . . . . that might be brought against him. But feeling this, however, very strongly, he had been to Lord C—— this morning; had consulted with him upon it; and, for the sake of the family, he thought it most essential, and most highly desirable, if possible, to prevent Lord W—— from bringing the charge forward. He considered Lord W——'s object to be founded exclusively on a wish to blacken her character, and to enable him to come forward with more effect in his defence (which he must make) in the case in which he is involved with Mr. W—— ; that however much he might blacken her in the first instance, it would ultimately recoil on himself, and therefore it was a real object to stop the further proceedings, if possible; that he (the Duke) had done everything in his power to reconcile the differences throughout, and that such must appear if Lord W—— persisted. These were the grounds on which, as a gentleman (without adverting to a personal consideration), he thinks he ought to advise that a stop should be put to W——'s further prosecution of this charge against his wife. The *habeas corpus* has been demanded, and must be discussed to morrow, at *three* o'clock, in the Chancellor's private chamber; but in this discussion, if Lord W—— persists, this business must be gone into. The great object, therefore, that the Duke would recommend is, that you should, if you think proper, before that time communicate by a special messenger to W——, or to the individual through whom you gained your information, and endeavour to persuade him (the Duke being so completely armed against such a charge, and so prepared to refute it ultimately), that it could only for a moment serve his purpose, but in the end would damage his case. Indeed, I am per-

suaded, from what he said, that if W—— abandoned this attack on his wife, there would be little doubt that Mr. W—— would ultimately give way, and not call him up for his defence. In the many communications which W—— has had with the Duke, he has, at various times, not only personally, but by letter, absolved the Duke from all suspicion on his part of criminality . . . . . and the Duke, throughout all these transactions and communications which he has had with Lady W——, has uniformly and constantly consulted and advised with her brother, Lord C——, upon them.

I have written to you, therefore, as I assured the Duke I would do, and at his desire, and have ventured to say that I was quite sure you would view the circumstance on the same liberal and gentlemanly grounds he had put it, and endeavour to use your influence (if you have any) to stay the further proceedings on this charge, by sending up a servant to the party or parties, as you might think most advisable, before three o'clock to-morrow—it is now nearly six.

Ever yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

MR. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

MY DEAR B——,

The whole of the third volume of the "Notice des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi" is occupied with an account of the MSS. relative to the proceedings against Joan of Arc. There is an account of one which appears to be a duplicate of yours, though I think the number of pages is less, and every page is mentioned to be verified by the signatures of the notaries, who are called Terrebone and

Dionysius Comitis, and which is mentioned to be lettered "Processus Justificationis Joannæ d'Arc." Probably this with the date may be the best for your book. I take for granted you have the "Notice des Manuscrits" at Stowe; and as the account is a very detailed one, it will be very desirable to compare your MS. with it. Perhaps, however, this may be best done in town.

We only go into the Committee to-day *pro formâ*, in order to reprint and then recommit for discussion on Wednesday. The oath is now to be a new one, embodying the explanation, which is thought better than adhering to the old one, for which I am rather sorry. Everything looks favourably. Walter Burrell, Sir Hussey Vivian, Curteis of Sussex, Fox Lane, have all declared their intentions of not voting in the Committee, and we hope others may follow the example; but it is a period of nervous suspense. The debate on Friday was one of great forbearance, and it is difficult to say whether Peel most spared Mackintosh—or Canning, Peel. Canning stated that there was as great a community of sentiment between Peel and himself as could well subsist between public men. His speech and Wilberforce's were both uncommonly good.

I had some conversation with Plunket on Saturday about his views, and I am sorry to find him most disinclined—indeed, I might say almost resolved—against taking any office which would fix him in England, and looking only to the Attorney-Generalship and Great Seal of Ireland, but thinking that he could, while in the former office, give considerable attendance in the House of Commons.

He appeared to feel that there was no longer any obstacle to his taking office under the present Government, as now constituted, and to be well disposed to accept the offer of the Attorney-Generalship of Ireland whenever they

can make room for him, though he would much prefer coming in with us.

Ever affectionately yours,
C. W. W.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, March 20, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have seen the Duke, who desired me to express to you his very sincere thanks for the trouble you have taken in the subject of this detestable quarrel of the W——s. He assured me he would never mention your name to any human being; and you may rest assured that no letter to me shall ever go out of my hands.

With regard to leaving the whole matter in dispute to the arbitration of mutual friends, the Duke says there is no difficulty whatever in procuring Lady W——'s consent to it; she has repeatedly offered it, and is now ready to abide by such a reference. With regard to the child, this is a subject that must be decided by the Court, and cannot, and ought not, to form a part of the reference. If the father is entitled to take his child, he will, of course, have it; and there seems to be no doubt on this point. The real question of reference would be the litigation which is now carrying on between Lord W—— and Mr. W——, and the pecuniary arrangements and formal separation of the parties.

The Duke says, that, with regard to the dispute between Lord W—— and Mr. W——, it stands independent of all other subjects; and as Lord W—— is now compelled to put in his answer (the rule being made absolute), and as the case must ultimately be most injurious and disgraceful in all its bearings to Lord W—— (as it affects his conduct

to Mr. W——), he thinks the best advice to be given to Lord W——, and the best course for him to follow, would be for him to write a letter to Mr. W——, saying that though he still condemns, and shall never cease to condemn, the injurious manner in which Mr. W——'s counsel had thought proper and been advised to treat him in his pleadings, yet he was sorry for the conduct he had adopted to Mr. W—— in consequence thereof, and was ready to offer his apology. This would satisfy W——, and stop his further proceedings, and thus end this part of the business. The second consideration—namely, the separation and allowance—this must now, of course, be decided, and under some strict and clear covenant; and which, undoubtedly, could best be done by arbitration of mutual friends. Lord C—— would guarantee any pledge or engagement on the part of his sister, and the same could be done on the part of Lord W——. Indeed, if she were disposed to make difficulties, her family would urge her to it. The Duke is quite satisfied that she would now most willingly do what she has repeatedly offered—namely, to decide the question by a reference to friends; and to show how far he has before effected this object, he put into my hands the enclosed, which was the terms agreed to in 1819 by both parties, and which the Duke is convinced, if they had been acted upon, Lord W—— would now have been in his wife's bed. Of course, that part which relates to their residence in the same house is now gone by, and it must be separation; but the great object is, if possible, to separate, by a distinct arrangement, the dispute with W——. This is the part that affects Lord W—— the most; and it is in order to lessen the heavy censure that would fall on him by the exposure of *all his conduct* towards Mr. W——, that he now seeks to . . . . . .

. . . . . to mingle the Duke in the history. Lady W—— cannot proceed in this cause if W—— is satisfied, for she cannot plead or maintain his case for him.

Nothing of importance occurred in Court on Saturday. The Lord Chancellor has got rid of it, and turned it over to Judge Dallas, who requires more time; so there is now time for friends to interfere, if it can be done with effect.

You will understand the possession of the child. The Duke has nothing to do with it. Lord W—— has her now with him. A *habeas corpus* has been moved, and the law must, of course, decide this. You will be so good as to return the Duke's letter, as he desired me to let him have it again. He really seems much obliged to you for the interest you have taken about it, and I think is much more at ease on the subject than he appeared to be on Friday. He knows for *certain* that Lord N—— did advise Lord W—— on the question of Mr. W——.

Believe me, ever most truly yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

The Catholic Relief Bill continued to be warmly discussed in Parliament, and for a time almost excluded all other subjects of interest from public attention.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

House of Commons, Four o'clock.

I saw the Duke yesterday, who is truly thankful to you for the interest and concern you take in the business. He is fully sensible of the advantage on every ground to arbitrate in this matter, though he treats with indignation

the attempt to fix a guilt on him. He states, in the most solemn manner, to me—and really in such a manner as I cannot for a moment disbelieve—that he is utterly innocent of the imputed charge; that it is a diabolical and infamous conspiracy, which any man may be liable to; and that if it proceeds, it will be necessary to expose and punish; that it is utterly impossible, without fraud and falsehood of the grossest kind, to bring home to him such a crime. Saying all this, he, however, admits with you the effect of such a charge on his character, until it is fully confuted and exposed.

With regard to the first proposition coming from Lady W——, it would be impossible for him or any one to recommend her in the first instance to stay proceedings, or to recommend Mr. W—— to do so: it would be admitting her guilt, which no one could advise her to do. The Duke is satisfied that she is ready to leave the whole matter to reference, and I have no doubt I shall have a communication from Lord C—— to that effect to-morrow; and if a reference is made on the whole subject—namely, the separation, and the income to be allowed—such reference and arrangement would naturally have the ultimate effect of putting an end to all other proceedings. But it is impossible for her, in the first instance, to make this a preliminary engagement, or for him to recommend such a step; it would be admitting a ground for the charge, which he knows to be most foul and false as it concerns him; and it would be a confession on her part of her guilt. It strikes me in the same point of view; and on this ground, also, the Duke cannot be one of the referees. You would be the best person, and the one most desirable to all parties connected with her, on the part of Lord W——; and she would be to name one equally approved by you and Lord

W——. "As soon as I have seen Lord C——, who comes to town to-day, I will let you know his decision and authority.

Ever most truly yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

We are in the greatest anxiety about the division to-night. The best calculators say we shall gain it by four: this is too close. No fresh news from Naples. The repulse of the 7th, with great confusion, is fully believed. Canning certainly goes back to Paris after Lambton's motion; he gives this out everywhere. The rumour rather gains ground of your going to Ireland; but I don't know from any authority.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

House of Commons, Four o'clock.

MY DEAR LORD,

I got your letter this morning, and had previously received one yesterday evening from the Duke . . . . . which I enclose you. It is unnecessary, therefore, for me to stir on the subject, or to make a further observation, till you have read the enclosed, and have given me your opinion upon it, and what is the determination of Lord W—— regarding the arbitration. I can only, however, add my opinion, that it will be utterly impossible to make a previous engagement to withdraw the proceedings now pending. They are, in fact, deferred; and the result of an arbitration amicably concluded would be the withdrawing of all questions now before the Courts of Law.

Nothing can have been more successful than the whole proceedings on the Catholic Bill; and there is no doubt but that the Security Bill will also pass rapidly through the House. This will naturally bring you to town, to

share in the support of it through the House of Lords. —I have just heard from Mr. Holmes (who said he knew the fact), that a counter-revolution had taken place at Naples: the mob had risen—disarmed the troops—spiked the guns—turned the Parliament out of doors—proclaimed the Regent, Viceroy—and called for the King's return. General Pepe had not been found, and most of his army had abandoned him. The person left in command of the troops at Naples was the first to turn tail. The cry was now, the old Constitution!

I don't know anything further to tell you. The *old Court* is terribly dismayed by the success of the Catholic Bill, and I believe put very little trust in the King's determination to resist it. The whole thing in the Lords depends on *his* decision, and upon the conduct of Lord Liverpool; if he does not make a *Ministerial* business of it, there are great hopes it will be carried.

Ever most truly yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

DR. PHILLIMORE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall, March 24.

MY DEAR LORD,

Plunket received by yesterday's post intelligence that his wife was dying, and consequently set out immediately for Ireland. In spite of this great disadvantage, we got through the first clause of the Bill (that relative to the Oath of Supremacy), and gained three upon the division more than we had on the second reading, the numbers being 230 to 216. I think they will hardly make a fight about Transubstantiation; but they will push all their strength on the exclusion from Parliament, which Bankes will move on Monday. I think the Bill will pass the House of Com-

mons. I believe Lord Duncannon and Mr. Holmes are agreed that we should have a majority of 38, if the whole House were to attend. The notion is that Lord Sidmouth, Vansittart, and B. Bathurst are to go out if the Bill is carried. Peel is clearly paving the way for a junction with Government, even though the Bill should pass; and Canning as clearly holding out that there can be no obstacle in the way of his sitting in the same Cabinet with Peel. Peel has not gained ground by his conduct in the business; I should say he has lost rather in the estimation of the House.

I sent your Lordship a copy of the Bill on the day it was reprinted; the alteration was made because it appeared that doubtful persons were less dissatisfied with it than with the explanation.

Believe me,

Your Lordship's obliged and faithful,

JOSEPH PHILLIMORE.

MR. C. W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Saturday.

MY DEAR B——,

Notwithstanding the great loss which we sustained last night from the absence of poor Plunket, who set off for Ireland with little hope of finding his wife alive, we made a very good figure last night. Castlereagh spoke better than I ever heard him. You will see that your suggestion of adding some words to exclude all mental reservation is adopted—that is to say, both Phillimore and Castlereagh last night stated the willingness of the promoters of the Bill to admit them, if any person thought it desirable to move their insertion. Burrell, notwithstanding what he had said, came and voted against us; but Curteis and Fox Lane, instead of only staying away, voted with us. Davies

Gilbert did not vote, but is so completely turned that I have strong hopes of his vote on Monday. We are also to have Denman, and I believe Abraham Moore, from the Circuits; W. Pole, who was ill; Dennis Browne, and Sir Gerard Noel, who were absent. Castlereagh has also promised to insist on checking the activity of Holmes, who has been quite indefatigable in the use of every means, fair and foul, to induce members to vote against us. Lord Fife has been dismissed from the Bedchamber, in consequence of his vote on the Malt Tax, and Lord Lovaine is to succeed him.

What passed on that occasion is only a confirmation of the truth of the Duke of Wellington's view of the state of administration, and of the hollowness of their support on any question which is not vital. I suppose they now look to replace the Doctor and Van. by Peel and Canning, who are evidently extremely disposed to return together.

I agree with you in thinking the Bill, as it originally stood, with the explanation of the oath, was preferable to its present form; but *on fait ce qu'on peut* and *non ce qu'on veut*. The best way of all would be to make the oath now proposed general for Protestants and Catholics, but this, I fear, is impossible.

I fear that we shall be all Monday on the question of admissibility to Parliament, and must reserve the Privy Council and the Judges for Tuesday.

It is intended to add the second Bill in the shape of clauses to the first. I suppose we can hardly hope to carry it up to your House till Monday, the 2nd. As to the affairs of the South, my view very closely concurs with yours.

I will make some inquiry about the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland before I again write; but I do not

myself feel any alarm at the exercise of visitatorial or any other power *in curia* by a Catholic, and think, indeed, it might more safely be lodged in his hands than in those of an Unitarian or bigoted Presbyterian, who might both now hold it.

Believe me, ever most truly yours,

C. WILLIAMS WYNN.

More than one communication printed in this volume has indicated that the Government were anxious to secure the services of the leading members of the Grenville party. It will be seen that the former became more and more conscious of the desirableness of such a junction.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, March 27, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD BUCKINGHAM,

I have received your letter; and you may rely upon it, that there is no man more desirous than I am of strengthening the connexion between your family and the Government. I think that the services which you have, upon principle, rendered to them are of a nature to give you every claim to their consideration; and I am very much mistaken if this feeling is not common to all those at present forming the Administration.

I shall be very happy in being instrumental in forwarding any wish of yours; and I will so conduct myself as not to involve you in anything.

Believe me, ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

DR. PHILLIMORE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Doctors' Commons, March 20, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I should have sent your Lordship yesterday the result of Tuesday's debate, but that I was shut up all the morning with Sir John Newport *and Co.*, on the subject of the clauses relating to the securities. You will perceive that several inaccuracies are corrected; and amongst other amendments, I believe most of the alterations you suggested have been introduced—all, at least, that we considered, under existing circumstances, to be advisable.

We got through all the clauses last night, upon the whole, very triumphantly; but Mr. Hutchinson opened a broadside upon us, which in the earlier stages of the Bill might have sunk the whole concern—inasmuch as he characterized the second Bill (now consolidated with the first) as a Bill of pains, penalties, degradation, &c., imposed on the Roman Catholic clergy. The attack, however, recoiled upon the promoter of it, and the discussion was so conducted as to assist the Bill. The debate is exceedingly ill given in all the papers I have seen, more especially as it omits the speeches of three Irish county members, who rose in succession, and said they had every reason to believe the measure was very agreeable to the Roman Catholics in the counties they represented—Butler, the member for the county of Kilkenny (which, I believe, is intensely Catholic), being one. None of the Opposition ultras would attend last night.

The Report is to be brought up to-day, and the Bill to be read a third time on Monday. They have abandoned all idea of opposing the bringing up of the Report; but Croker, I understand, in spite of all that can be said to deter him, persists in his intention of moving that a pro-

vision shall be inserted in the Bill for the Roman Catholic clergy. A great exertion is to be made against us for the division on the third reading, but I think we shall succeed; we had seven votes shut out on the clause relating to Parliament, which was most unfortunate.

I am now going to meet Sir John Newport, at Lord Castlereagh's, to consider of the propriety of some alterations which have been suggested as expedient to be made on bringing up the Report. Lord Castlereagh *now* seems quite in earnest, and I think his having this meeting at his house is a proof of it; he was very pressing with me to attend it.

The Bill will be reprinted; and as soon as it is distributed I will send a copy to Avington, where I shall presume you continue till I hear to the contrary.

Believe me, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's obliged and faithful,

JOSEPH PHILLIMORE.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, March 30, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD BUCKINGHAM,

Fremantle has just come in to me, and has informed me that you understood that part of a late letter I had written to him, referred to you. I assure you that you are quite mistaken. It could not refer to you.

I think I have reason to believe that Lord W—— himself does not believe in the truth of the charges he thinks proper to make against me. I may be mistaken; but that is my opinion, and that was the opinion which, as well as I recollect, I intended to convey, and no other; and even this opinion I intended to convey in terms as polite, guarded, and little offensive to anybody as possible.

Pray don't think that I could mean to refer to you in any manner.

And believe me, ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, March 30, 1821.

You will see, by the enclosed, how totally you mistook the Duke's meaning in the last paragraph of his letter to me of the 27th. He was much surprised at it, and extremely distressed; and after having conversed for some time on the subject, and desired me to explain the matter to you, he ended in saying—"I think it would be more satisfactory to Lord B—— that I should write him a note, which I will do, and give to you to enclose to him." This he accordingly did. With regard to the mode of referring it, he is to see Lord C——, who will write to me, stating distinctly the grounds and extent to which arbitration shall go. I need say no more, therefore, on this subject, particularly as we shall meet so soon, and probably before I hear from Lord C——.

A confirmation is arrived of the counter-revolution both at Naples and Turin. At the former, the Prince Regent, the army, and the people are united; they have dissolved the Parliament, pronounced a declaration in favour of the old Constitution, and sent a deputation with a submission to the King, and a supplication for his resumption of his dominion. At Turin, Prince Carignan has put himself at the head of some troops, has resigned the Regency, and marched to join a corps which had been assembled in favour of the King; and the cry at Turin and throughout Piedmont was for the return of the King, and the resumption of the

old order of things. Thus ends, I hope, and as it is believed, the whole of these revolutionary attempts, which might have embroiled all Europe.

The impression gains ground in favour of the Catholic question in the House of Lords. I asked the Duke of W —— what he thought would be the result; and he said, "We think it will be carried." I said it would depend much on the King; he replied, "We hear he is for it." I added, "Much also must depend on Lord Liverpool's conduct; if he acts as an individual, it will have little effect, compared to any canvass as a Minister." He answered, "The latter is impossible; our Cabinet could not allow such a thing; his influence, as a private [individual], considering his character, situation, &c., must have great weight, but no further; perhaps those who oppose it will not be heard, as in the House of Commons." I give you nearly word for word as he said it; and I should judge, from the tenor of his words and manner, that he really thinks it would be carried. By-the-bye, he added, "I hear Lady Conyngham supports it, which is a great thing."

I am hurried for time, so I wont add more. We have no fear for the division on Monday; I will see you in the evening, in my way from the House.

Ever truly yours,

W. H. F.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, March 30, 1821.

My dear Lord Buckingham,

Since I wrote to you last, I have had some conversation with those likely to carry into execution the object you have in view; and I have found them exactly in the disposition in which I told you in my last I expected to find

them. Of course, in the existing state of the measure in Parliament, and particularly as no design for carrying it into execution can yet be in discussion, or in the contemplation of more than a few, no decision can have been taken. But I am certain that the disposition to which I have above referred exists; and I think it might be desirable that you should let me know whether you have any, and what, views for your family, or any of the friends attached to you.

Believe me, ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

MR. C. W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Saturday.

MY DEAR B——,

Lord Donoughmore, participating in his brother's objections, has to-day declined the conduct of the Bill in the House of Lords, and recommended that an attempt should be made to prevail upon Lord Grenville to undertake to move the second reading. Anticipating this, I had, by Castlereagh's desire, yesterday sounded Lord G——, who, to my great satisfaction, said that, if applied to under these circumstances, he did not think himself at liberty to refuse. It is intended to fix the second reading for Tuesday se'nnight, the 10th. You will see that the resolutions of the Dublin clergy are extremely moderate, and I understand that their petition is still more so. In Limerick, the clergy have come to violent resolutions, and there has been an aggregate meeting to the same effect. There is a strong protest against them, very numerously and respectably signed by what Rice, the member for the city, describes to be the principal Catholics there. Altogether, it is supposed that the tide runs strongly in favour of the measure.

I have been looking over the lists of the House of Lords,

by which the majority against the Bill cannot be rated less than twelve; and when one looks at the names of which it consists, I fear that it displays such an array of bigotry and stupidity that one can scarcely hope to make material impression upon it. The only hope is that some of them may stay away. I trust that you will not now delay coming up.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, April 2, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD BUCKINGHAM,

You are quite right respecting the subject of your taking office. I have suggested from myself the propriety and expediency of making you the offer of the Lord Lieutenancy in Ireland, in case the Catholic Bill should pass; and that suggestion was well received. It occurred to me that the arrangement, if occasion for it should offer, might be facilitated by my knowing your wishes, or whether you had any, respecting others, and for that reason I asked the question.

It certainly referred only to the particular object in question, if occasion should offer—that is, if the Catholic Bill should pass—as you did not go farther with me. But if you feel disposed to talk with me upon your situation, and that of your friends, in relation to the Government in general, you will find me well disposed to enter into the subject, and to do anything in which you may think I can be of service to forward your views, in the same mode as I have upon the object first mentioned. I shall be at the office to-day till five o'clock, and to-morrow from two. I can go in to you at any hour; and I think I had

better go to you, as your visit to me there might be observed.

Ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

The Catholic Relief Bill was brought before the House of Lords on the 3rd of April, and a very animated debate on the question took place on the 17th, when the Duke of York made an emphatic declaration in opposition; and, although Lord Grenville delivered an able speech in its support, the motion was negatived on a second reading.

The division on the second reading of the Bill was 159 against, 120 for, showing a majority of 39. On the measure being lost, Lord Eldon, the most zealous of the anti-Catholics, thus writes:—"It was quite clear in Lord Grenville's speech that, professing that the Bill must be greatly amended in the Committee, he did most carefully abstain from pointing out one single enactment that could be left untouched, or one that he would introduce as one of his great amendments. He was very dexterous in avoiding saying that he would have no securities; but I think it is clear that is now his meaning. The Duke of York has done more to quiet this matter than everything else put together. It has had a great effect. I have nothing further to delay your drinking to the thirty-nine who saved the Thirty-nine Articles—a very fashionable toast."[1]

[1] "Life," by Twiss, vol. ii. p. 40.

"As to Liverpool," writes the Lord Chancellor, "I do not know what he means. To please Grenville, he makes a Regius Professor—friend to the Catholics. To please Lansdowne, he makes a Bishop of Bristol and Regius Professor—friend to the Catholics. He therefore, I dare say, will not stir a step beyond pronouncing in words his speech. I am not quite content with this, and yet I don't know what to do. But what he does or does not do, I think, should not regulate me."[1]

The Court had recovered from the alarm the Queen had created. A magnificent banqueting-room had been finished at the Brighton Pavilion, 60 feet long by 42 wide, and had been furnished with imperial magnificence. This suggested anything but doubts of the Sovereign's undisturbed rule. At Windsor, the current of affairs went merrily as a marriage-bell, the Royal party enjoying "the contemplative man's recreation" on the Virginia Water with a zeal that would have gratified, if it did not edify, Izaak Walton; and now the Coronation was boldly talked of—indeed, preparations were making for the performance of this ceremony with the greatest possible splendour.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Strathfieldsaye, April 23, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD BUCKINGHAM,

I have received your note in answer to that which I

[1] "Life," by Twiss, vol. ii. p. 41.

wrote to you on Wednesday; and I wish you would let me know whether you have any objection to my stating that I know those are your feelings, if there should be an opportunity.

I shall be at Winchester on Wednesday, for the meeting of the Lieutenancy, but I am obliged to return here that night, as I have some people here; otherwise, I should take that opportunity of paying you a visit at Avington.

Believe me, ever yours most sincerely,
WELLINGTON.

I was last week at Woburn. I think the Opposition are much more annoyed at having failed in pledging a number of persons by a vote to go with a Committee on Reform, than they are at the loss of the Roman Catholic Bill.

RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, May 15, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD B——,

I hear from London that the D—— of N—— has been so ill-advised as to have offered to the Q—— the Marshal's box at the Coronation, and that she has written to the K—— to know where and in what dress she should appear at that ceremony. I presume the answer will be, "In a white sheet, in the middle aisle of the Abbey." Perhaps *two* white sheets might be more appropriate, if the report is founded of Bergami the Second, in the person of a certain strapping Scotch Baxter, seven foot by six. If the K—— continues to drive Lord L—— to the wall on one side, and the commoner Lord L—— urges him with a Catholic measure on the other, I should not be surprised

that he took that opportunity of withdrawing himself from the turmoil, and of leaving *champ libre* to the commoner Lord L——, who may feel more confidence than is reasonable, that he should find himself strong enough to take the whole Government upon his own shoulders—a speculation which, however flattering to his ambition, seems hardly within his reach to carry through, the general opinion being certainly much less favourable to him than to the present First Lord. Perhaps, however, the K—— is tired of his old Ministers, and is ready enough to take to their opposers, provided he can do so with at least the appearance of making it his own act, instead of his submitting to undisguised compulsion; but if he puts away his present servants, he places himself as unconditionally now at the discretion of Opposition, as he would have been if he had surrendered to them at the beginning of the session. Perhaps female influence may have contributed to this new view as a new measure; and undoubtedly it is a most marked demonstration, that the three *first* subject dinners after the accession should be found in the three leading houses of Opposition. The probability, however, is that it is an over-refinement to give consistency or premeditation to that which may be only the unrestrained irritation of the moment.

Yours most affectionately,

T. G.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, May 16, 1821.

Certainly, your description of the discussion for and against the proposed relief to the Catholics is not encouraging, any more than the prospect which the papers seem to hold out of the rejection of the Grampound Bill by the

majority of the Cabinet, in contradiction to Lord Liverpool's support. The King's demonstrations of renewed intercourse with the great peers of opposition must also, in such a moment, be a source of weakness, as well as of personal vexation.

In this state of things, I do not wonder that both parts of the Government should be unwilling to stir this Catholic question again in any shape; and I certainly see no such benefit likely to arise from doing so in the mode of partial relief, as to induce the friends of conciliation on a larger scale to embark in any such proposal as this limited measure holds out.

If any other proof were wanted beyond what the general view of the subject affords, to convince any reasonable man that this mode of treating the most important of all our present public interests as no Government question, is the worst instead of the best that could be adopted, Lord Londonderry's[1] own situation in respect of this subject at this moment would be decisive against it. He has, I am persuaded, been restrained only by that pledge from taking the only course which becomes him on the subject, and which, if he had adopted it in consequence of the passing of the Bill in the House of Commons, would have been decisive in its favour in its subsequent stages. Having neglected to do this at that time, I myself think that his doing it now would be a step of much more doubtful result, and probably of much more dangerous consequences, and therefore, if I were his adviser, which I am very glad I am not, I do not see what I could suggest but now to leave the matter as it is. Shall we see you on Monday? As to the direct reference which Lord L——'s conversa-

[1] Lord Castlereagh's father having recently died, he had succeeded to the title.

tion seems to have had to yourself and your own conduct, in respect to making yourself, personally and officially, a party to this system of treating the greatest of all questions in our domestic policy as no Cabinet measure, what I have already said will sufficiently show you my opinion. It is a mode of getting rid of a present difficulty, but at the risk and almost certainty of the greatest possible embarrassments in future. And this deserves the greater consideration, inasmuch as the events of this session have again rendered this Roman Catholic question so very prominent a feature of all that can be looked to for some time to come.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Sunday Night.

I have just got your letter, and write these few lines to save the post, though I have, in truth, in what I wrote to Charles this morning, said all that occurs to me as material on the subject.

It is of great importance that you should not appear, either to Plunket or to others, to stir a single step in the matter without his previous approbation.

I most entirely agree in the utter impossibility of either yourself or Wellesley, or any other supporter of the Catholic Bill, bringing forward any such proposition as this, or even acquiescing in it, except under an express and positive declaration that you do so only as seeing in it an advance, *however small*, towards the final and total accomplishment of that which can alone satisfy your own duty and opinion on this subject.

How can Lord Londonderry or any of his colleagues think that any of those who were turned out in 1807, precisely because they would not pledge themselves to any

truce or cessation of this question short of its total and final accomplishment, would now lend themselves to such a measure for the sake of obtaining for the Catholics benefits so small that it is even doubtful (as I explained to Charles this morning, according to my view of the subject,) whether they or their opponents would gain most by thus varying the state of the question?

I forget which bishop it was that was foolish enough to express his hope that the present rejection of the Bill would finally set the question at rest. But I well remember that I noticed this nonsensical expectation in the course of what I said, and assured him that it neither ought to have, *nor would have*, that effect.

And indeed if I, and half or all the supporters of the Bill, had thought differently, and were inclined to lend ourselves to such a pledge, how could any or all of us answer for the Catholics themselves, or bind ourselves, if they stirred the question in opposition to our pledges, that we would then vote against our declared opinions?

All this, in my judgment, only shows that Lord Londonderry is, as he may well be, most uneasy in his situation, as resulting from the present strange and most anomalous state of this business, which he ought to have foreseen, but did not, as at least a possible event, when he agreed to form a Government in which the one most important feature in the whole political interests of the country was not to be considered as a ministerial question.

"You have what I advise;" but pray do not forget that, on this subject above all others, Plunket is entitled, not to *know*, but almost to *direct* your course.

GRENVILLE.

The Queen put in a formal claim to be crowned with the King, and Mr. Brougham urged it, with all his forensic eloquence and skill, before the Privy Council; but, as will be seen, all the principal precedents were in opposition to his argument:—

"William the Conqueror's Queen was crowned two years after he was crowned.

Henry I.'s Queen, ditto.

Stephen's Queen, ditto.

Richard I.'s Queen, crowned abroad.

John's Queen, not crowned with him, but crowned.

Henry III.'s Queen, not with him, but afterwards, alone.

Edward III.'s Queen, crowned alone.

Henry IV.'s Queen, crowned—not with him.

Henry V.'s Queen, ditto.

Henry VI.'s Queen, not crowned with him, but alone.

Henry VII.'s Queen, crowned long after him.

Henry VIII.—Some of his Queens crowned, some not.

Charles I.—His Queen not crowned at all.

Charles II.—His Queen not crowned at all.

George II.'s Queen, or George I.'s, I am not sure which, not crowned at all."[1]

On the 21st of May a feeble attempt was made in the House of Commons to bring forward the

[1] Twiss's "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 43.

pretensions of the Queen to share in the approaching State ceremonial; but the firm language of Lord Londonderry, and the apathy of the House on the subject, set the matter at rest.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, June 4, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

The coronation is fixed (*decidedly so*) by the Government to take place previous to his going to Ireland, and a fortnight after the close of the Session: two days afterwards he starts for Ireland, and embarks at Portsmouth; and on his return from Ireland, he goes to Hanover. This is all arranged at present, and the Ministers have agreed to it. With the exception of the coronation, all the rest may be subject to change; but I am quite sure the coronation is determined on. Prince Leopold was to have started for Germany on Friday, to see his mother; but has put it off, in consequence of this decision, as he could not be back in time.

Canning leaves Paris this day for London. Parliament —that is, the House of Commons—is expected to be up on the 25th; and I think it may. There is no other news.

Ever yours truly,

W. H. F.

There are to be two Parliamentary Commissioners—Frankland Lewis and Wallace—for this Irish examination, and three other Commissioners; salary, £1500 (to Parliamentary Commissioners) per annum. I don't think it would be a bad appointment (one of the others) for Tom Fremantle, if I could have a chance of getting it. I suppose their salary is much less.

RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Square, June 5, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD B——,

It is evident that something has for the moment interfered to prevent the immediate announcement of Lord Sidmouth's resignation, which on Saturday and Sunday was reported upon the best authority. Lord G—— told me that Lord S—— was suddenly sent for by the King on Saturday, and it seems probable that it was to tell him to delay his resignation; indeed, as the Session will end with this month, that period would be the natural one for change.

Lady Liverpool was yesterday reported to be dead, but she still lives, though she is considered as being at death's door; and I believe the Ministers are much alarmed, from their doubting whether, in that case, Lord L—— will not retire altogether.

The coronation is now again afloat, and is expected to take place before the journey to Ireland. The Court of Claims is resumed; and having a ticket to-day to see the preparations in the Hall and the Abbey, I am convinced from what I saw that they are now in earnest, and that there is nothing which may not be quite completed in six weeks, except the tower at the Great Gate of Westminster Hall. The Hall is beautiful and magnificent; but in the Abbey, the appearance of the great aisle is much hurt by the projecting galleries on each side for the spectators.

Yours affectionately,

T. G.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, June 10, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I only returned to town this morning, having gone on Sunday. I am very glad you were so satisfied with my last, but think you rather went beyond my meaning in your construction of its contents; however, I saw the Duke of Wellington this moment, and put your letter into his hands, which he read with great attention. We were on horseback, and many persons passing in the Park, and therefore he had little means of conversing upon it; however, his observation to me was—"I am glad he is satisfied with my explanation; I am quite sure he may depend on what I said. You have heard, no doubt, of the event of this morning" (meaning Lady Liverpool's death, which took place at six o'clock), "this for the moment, of course, stops all proceedings. Does Lord Buckingham remain in the country? I am glad he does; he would be more fidgetty here, with all the reports, but a few days probably will give him information." By this you will perceive, for I really think I have quoted every word he said (as we were interrupted by Mr. Singleton's presence), that the communication is beyond doubt intended, and I shall think it your own fault if you let the opportunity slip.

Without meaning in any manner to embarrass any views which you may have, I think it fair to state my wish, which is to be placed at any one of the Boards of Treasury, Admiralty, or India. It was the situation which I was to have when Lord Grenville was to come in, and I should hope both my pretension of former office and my talents would entitle me to it, but be assured I mean not to interfere with your arrangements in any way.

I send you a list which is made out at White's of the new Peers, and which is said to be correct; it is expected out immediately.

Irish: Roden, Kingston, Conyngham, Longford, and Ormond.

Scotch: Wemys and Lothian.

English: Lord George Murray, Sir W. Scott, Pole, Cholmondeley, Forester, Sir T. Liddle, and Sir T. Heathcote.

I have nothing further to say at present. You shall hear to-morrow if anything occurs. I had a letter from Cecil Jenkinson announcing her death, and saying Lord Liverpool was as well as could be expected. The Duke of Wellington told me they were urging the King to go to Ireland by Holyhead, but as yet he persists in going by long sea.

Ever most truly yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

The negotiation with the Grenvilles was again resumed; a full report of which is here given, including some curious revelations of Court and Ministerial life.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, June 11, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I am perfectly aware of the difficulties you have in managing the *half-Whig* principles and the *negative qualities* which are acting against you on the subject of negotiations and connexion with the Government; and it was because I felt this, and knew the delicacy of the transaction, and because I had incurred so much blame from Lord G—— and others in former negotiations, that I acted

as I did. The moment I got your first letter I determined to act upon it, *without consulting any one.* It was your wish that I should communicate with the Duke of Wellington (personally); I concurred in that opinion, and I therefore instantly went to him. *After* I had so communicated with him, and had written the account of it to you, I sought Charles Williams [Wynn], to inform him of what I had done, and showed him the correspondence. I had a long conversation with him, and maintained those opinions and the views which you have suggested in your letter of this morning. Although he deprecated the overture to the Duke of Wellington, yet I am quite persuaded he is delighted at the prospect it has opened to his views. I know not whether he may or may not have opened the subject to his uncles, but it is impossible they can condemn a proceeding which was called for by the general and increasing rumours of the town; but even if they are so disposed, it is necessary for every man to judge for himself They might think it right to remain quiet; you, on the contrary, think it right to communicate your views and opinions confidentially to the Duke of Wellington, with whom you had before conversed on the subject. I have always told you, and I repeat it, that Charles Williams, though most able and admirable as your chief in the House of Commons, is too full of difficulty and *splitting of hairs.* My opinion is, decidedly, that you should, under all the difficulties of the present moment, and with the retirement of your uncles, get into official station, and thereby official strength and power; and when once that is done, your influence, your necessity *to any future Government,* will be tenfold what it now is; but if you are now to hold off, and to be fighting for general objects, and for balance of Cabinet strength, and for questions and individuals, I have

no hesitation in saying that I think you will do wrong. These will be the points, I perfectly well know, that will be uppermost in the mind of your uncles and Charles Williams; but it is for you to act for yourself, which I think you can manage without quarrelling with them. With all these impressions on my mind, and recurring to the blame I incurred for communicating with Harrison on a former occasion, I felt it impossible for me not to mention the transaction to Charles Williams, *after I had executed your wishes;* but I can assure [you] there is no other individual on earth to whom I have opened my lips on the subject; and you must be aware that, whether this conversation had been made known or not, you must have mentioned the subject to your uncles and Charles Wynn whenever the Government had sent to you, and on your arrival in town. I feel exceedingly sorry you should have thought that I wanted discretion by so doing; but, devoted as I am at all times to you, the case was one in which I felt obliged to take the step I did.

I shall not communicate your letter of to-day to him; but shall continue to urge the same language you hold, and which, I assure you, I have already done to him; and I would recommend you to leave it now where it stands. Again I can't help expressing my opinion of the propriety of your conduct, and the necessity there was of coming to a full and distinct understanding as to your footing with the Government.

I cannot yet give a good guess as to Lord Liverpool's conduct. If I were to give my opinion, it is that he will remain in office; but if Lord Londonderry thinks his situation, and power, and influence must be strengthened (which seemed to be the opinion of the Duke of Wellington), he may be better pleased with an arrangement which would

give him the Treasury and Chancellorship of the Exchequer, and thereby he would possess the patronage and the authority over the Secretaries of the Treasury. It certainly is now a drawback to his Parliamentary means; at the same time, I own I cannot see strength in the retirement of Lord Liverpool. He has more footing and support in the country than any one of the Ministers; and even his promise of support would be a very different thing. Who is there to conduct the House of Lords?

Lady Conyngham is certainly moving to introduce the Opposition. I was told last night (but I can't positively vouch for the fact) that Lord and Lady Grey and children are invited to the Carlton House ball this evening; if so, nothing can more strongly mark her influence; for you must remember the language the King held to me, not six months ago, about Lord Grey individually. There was no opprobrious or harsh epithet he did not use. He dines with the Duke of Devonshire to-morrow, and has a limited party to meet him in the evening—a ball. I have not heard who are the invitations—but of course Diplomacy and Opposition. The King has left out many of the Ministers' ladies and his old friends to-night—such as the Duchess of Rutland, Lady Bathurst; the only Minister's wife, Lady Melville, asked.

I will keep this open, in case I have anything further to tell you. Adieu!

Ever sincerely yours,

W. H. F.

House of Commons, Six o'clock.

I have little more to say, excepting that Lord Londonderry is unwell, and no particular business will come on this evening. *Lord and Lady* Grey are certainly invited to Carlton House to-night, and Tierney to the evening to-

morrow, to meet the King at the Duke of Devonshire's. The strongest rumours are afloat, and increase with regard to *his leaning* towards the Opposition; and certainly these invitations do not discourage them. What he can mean seems difficult to unravel.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, June 16, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I feel that I acted wrong in showing your letter marked "Confidential" to Charles Williams, and am sorry I did so, particularly as it has given you pain, but a variety of reasons prompted me at the time; the subject was so important, and the nature of the commission so delicate, that I did not sufficiently consider how it might embarrass you. I am quite aware of the many difficulties you have to contend with, and this made me feel (from past experience) the danger of moving without explanation; however, I can only say I am sorry I showed your letter, and it will be a lesson to me in future to act with more caution.

The state of things is most critical and curious. Everybody now acknowledges, and seems to admit, that changes must take place and are pending, but what with the King's flirtation with the Opposition, the strange absence and conduct of Canning at the House of Commons, the illness of Londonderry, and the death of Lady Liverpool, it is all loose and wild conjecture; my version is this—I have no hesitation in saying, from what I gather, that Lord Liverpool will not resign (the King has written him a most kind and considerate letter); that the King only plays a game with the Opposition from vexation and anger about Mr. Sumner's appointment, and a wish at the same

time of keeping down a party for the Queen, but that he has no idea of changing his Government. That as soon as Lady Liverpool is buried and the Session is closed, a communication will be made to you, and that the Government will be strengthened by your accession. How and in what manner this will be arranged, in accordance with your feelings and views, I cannot pretend to say; but whenever that proposition is made, if you are afterwards to waive the accedence to a junction till you are enabled to satisfy the theories and calculations of your uncles, I am quite sure you might as well remain at Stowe. I have no hesitation in saying to you, that I think you would do well to make a *sine quâ non* of Charles Williams being of the Cabinet; but if beyond this he is to have all his difficulties of who shall fill the different offices, and how more or less the Government could be better classed, and if these difficulties are again to be weighed and reasoned on by your uncles, who sit in their libraries and fancy things and men are as they were twenty years ago, and forget we are under a new reign, *and such a reign;* and if above all, they fancy the Government is reduced to the state of giving you *carte blanche*, and that they cannot go on without your party, I am quite convinced they would not treat on these terms, and that *they are* prepared to go on, if they find such to be your feelings and line of conduct; I tell you this as *my own opinion*, and which I think I am bound to give you, knowing the situation in which you stand, and weighing well all these difficulties you have to contend against, and as they affect what I know to be the prevailing object of your mind to conciliate the junction.

The Opposition are whispering and cajoling about the King's conduct towards them, and I see are endeavouring

to separate the Whigs from the Mountain; but they will be unable to do this while the Duke of Bedford, Lord Grey, Lord Lansdowne, &c. are at Carlton House, and Lords Tavistock, Fitzwilliam, Milton, Jersey, &c., are with the Queen on the same evening.

Lady Conyngham is the great link upon which this hangs, and the Opposition ladies are courting her to a degree and with success. The King goes to-day (if he is well enough) to the Cottage, for the Ascot week, and is to have his party, Lady C——, &c.

He is certainly very unwell, with a great degree of gout. He was in his bed on the day he dined with the Duke of Devonshire till he got up for the dinner, and went away at twelve. He sat nearly the whole evening on a couch with Lady C——, and the night before at Carlton House he did the same with her, attending very little to the children, and then dismissed his company at about eleven o'clock, to have a private supper with her. I cannot find that he spoke to Lord Grey on either of the evenings. Adieu.

Ever truly yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, June 18, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I can have no idea that the Duke of Wellington speaks alone from his wishes, when he expressly told me that the *chiefs* of the Cabinet thought exactly as he did on the subject, and meant to act upon it. If the Chancellor, Lord Melville, and others, have counteracted this intention by stopping the arrangement with Canning, I cannot but think it must end in their quarrelling, for I am sure Lord Lon-

donderry wishes for further strength in the House of Commons, and he will not be deterred in procuring it by the Chancellor's meddling, who does not suffer from this part of the Government weakness. However, a short time must disclose it. Lady Liverpool's body leaves town to-morrow to be buried at Hawkesbury; Lord Liverpool attends it, and sleeps on Wednesday night at Badminton (Duke of Beaufort's), very near the place; when he returns, which he does to Combe, on Thursday or Friday, he will of course resume business and communication with his colleagues. Lord Londonderry is better; possibly may come to the House of Commons to-day. There has been the *devil to do* with the Duke of Devonshire's dinner. The Spencers, indignant at not being asked, refused to go in the evening; she saying that she did presume to think that she was as much entitled to a *family* association as Mr. and Mrs. G. Lambe or Captain Clifford, and one must say with no *little* reason. He also wrote to Lady Jersey to beg her to *send him an excuse*, as he had reason to think her presence would be objectionable (this at the time he had invited Lady Tavistock, and who was actually there, having been with the Queen the night before); Lady Jersey is outrageous, but has written a most violent letter to the Duke; but is crying to everybody, saying she is abandoned by her friends and everybody; she was at Lady Londonderry's on Saturday, sobbing and bewailing to every soul, literally crying. Lady Conyngham carries it with the very highest hand. She met R. Smith (Lord Carrington's son) on the Friday morning, asked him if he was to be at the ball at Carlton House that evening. He answered, "No; he had not been honoured by an invitation;" to which she replied, "Oh, I'll take care of that;" and he received a card a few hours afterwards.

Lady Londonderry sent her an invitation for one of her evening parties; she sent word that Lady Londonderry not having invited her to one party last winter, as she was not fit company in the year 1820, she could not be better or more worthy in the year 1821. Lady Gwydyr is the great friend. I don't find the King spoke to one of the Opposition *men* either at Carlton House or at Devonshire House; at the latter, a great mass of them, Tierney, Lord Grey, Mackintosh, &c. &c., were collected in the outer room to make their bow as he went out, but either by design or accident he came out by another room, and the thing missed fire.

I perfectly agree with you in thinking the King's conduct towards them is more with a view to destroy a Queen's party, but at the same time it weakens most terribly his own. Canning looks like the D——; I never saw a man so cast down or so miserable. His late gasconade has done him great mischief; it is said that Charles Ellis disapproved it strongly before he wrote the letter. I shall keep this open till I go to the House. The King goes to-day to the Cottage for the week—Lady Conyngham, Esterhazys, &c. &c. The Agricultural Horse Tax is given up; it was surrendered in the Committee this morning. I met Lord L—— this moment, who told me he had just parted with Lord Sidmouth, who had seen Lord Liverpool this morning. He (Lord L——) asked Lord Sidmouth whether there was any disposition or feeling on the part of Lord Liverpool to resign; he answered him in the clearest negative, saying he had no such idea whatever; that he found him greatly subdued this morning, but that after a little conversation he recovered and began upon business. Adieu.

Ever truly yours,

W. H. F.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, July 2, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I am quite persuaded there is no person more anxious on the subject than C—— W——; and however sulky he may have been, he was not the less delighted at the steps you took, by which the prospect appeared to be so much opened.

I am quite at a loss now to account for the *non*-communication. Your conjecture is, most probably, that the party who do not feel the weight of the Government are too strong at present to enable the efficient members to accomplish their object: at the same time, it is quite clear something *must* be done. If they get both Canning and Peel, they may do; but I don't look to this. The former claims too much, and there is a great portion of the Cabinet who hate him. He certainly was walking with Lord Lichfield for an hour previous to his making his speech; but his friends (I mean Lord Binning, who told me so) say it was to dissuade him from making it. He paired off himself on the question, which is a clear demonstration of his ill-humour. I will endeavour to throw myself in the Duke of Wellington's way, but I should think it unwise to call upon him; and, if I have an opportunity, will open the subject. After his declarations, if the business is off, he will and must feel very awkward; but at the same time, I think he must also feel called upon to give you some explanation. The truth is, that the Government is so extremely weak, and so disunited in itself, and upon such terms with the King, that they don't know from day to day, or from hour to hour, what will be their next proceedings. I understood last night, the Council were to hear an argument on the claim

set up by the Queen to be crowned. The Chancellor was to see the King upon it yesterday. This will add disgust and ill-will from the King, who cannot listen to common forms on her subject. Nobody can account for the Peerages not having appeared, as also the Brevet in Army and Navy. Lord Talbot was to return this week.

Whenever I hear anything, or can procure information, you shall know immediately. I leave town on Saturday.

Ever most truly yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, July 4, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

You will receive with this another letter which I have written to you, but which I told the Duke of W—— I would not send without his first seeing, being upon a matter so important, and conveying his message. Nothing can be so thoroughly weak as the proceedings of the Government on this question: it is, as usual, holding off, and endeavouring to tide on, trusting to accident, but knowing themselves to be incapable of continuing in their present form for another session.

I had a conversation with the Duke, in which he evidently felt embarrassed, because he admitted the folly of suspending any measures, but was forced to admit, at the same time, he was compelled to it. He talked over and admitted the inefficiency of many members of the Cabinet, but then said there were reasons which made it difficult to remove them, particularly when adverting to Lord Sidmouth—said he knew how "silly a fellow he was," but that a great following of the country attended him, and he

would bring more "*public* opinion" to the Cabinet than any other member. It was to his change, however, they looked. That it was impossible the House of Commons could go on as it was ; and the difficulty was, how best to strengthen it, when there was in all parts of the House *such a parity* of abilities. I admitted this, but said the disparity was only displayed in the Government benches; that B. Bathurst, Vansittart, and others (I did not name Pole) were perfect cyphers. It is clear that the efficient members—viz., Liverpool, Londonderry, and the Duke of Wellington—have been thwarted in their endeavours by the minor members of the Cabinet, and this arising from the want of energy in Lord Liverpool. I said, "Do you think the present supporters of Government, and the members of the Cabinet whom you may remove, would or could oppose the new Cabinet?" "Certainly not," he answered; "but though they would support, yet it would be an unwilling and cold support, such as could not be relied on." I made him feel as much as I could the awkward situation in which he himself was placed, with the opinions he entertained of the weakness of Government; and he really had nothing to say to this, except that it could not last, but that a strengthening of the Cabinet *must* take place before the opening. One thing, however, has [been] elicited —namely, that neither Canning nor Peel are thought of as in distinction to a more enlarged opening.

I have seen Charles Wynn since, and showed him the letter I was to show the Duke, and which is here sent. Our conversation was short. His impression is in favour of your joining the Whigs; but this would be madness. First, that they would repel you; and next, it would not a bit lessen the power of the present Government; or could it lead, under any circumstances, to the forma-

tion of a stronger or more efficient Government; it would and must lead you into the stream of the Radicals, who completely govern the Whigs. My opinion is, that you should now hold yourself liberated from all connexion with the Government, and that whether they do or do not communicate with you, is now a matter not worth your notice; but that you shall give your support and influence to the formation of any Government that can rescue us from the danger of revolution, which is fast approaching, and which daily threatens us more and more, from the weakness and want of energy of the present members of the Cabinet. I will add a word or two to this after I have seen the Duke.

You will see by the papers the death of Buonaparte. I met Lord Sidmouth, who told me the accounts had arrived. He died of a stomach attack of a cancerous nature, on the 5th April.

Four o'clock.

I am just come from the Duke, and I send you the letter as he has altered it.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, July 4, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have seen the Duke of Wellington this morning, who sent to me to communicate the last decision of the Cabinet with regard to change. He desired me to tell you it was found impossible, for reasons into which he could not enter, to make the arrangements which had been in contemplation, and that it was thought best not to come to you with an offer in an arrangement which was not complete, and therefore to delay to communicate with you till the com-

plete arrangement could be made. This must be made between this and the next session of Parliament; and the Duke told me that nothing of the kind could be done without communication with you; that if the arrangement in contemplation could have been made at present, an offer would have been made to you which the Duke thinks would have been agreeable to you; and he was quite certain nothing of the kind would be done in future without something of the same kind. I begged to understand from the Duke whether any partial change—such as the introduction of Mr. Canning or Mr. Peel—would be considered change? His answer was, that no change whatever would take place without your being consulted and a party to it; and that he made this communication to you with the knowledge and concurrence of Lord Liverpool.

Believe me ever, my dear Lord,

Most sincerely yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

MR. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall, July 5, 1821.

MY DEAR B——,

I yesterday met Fremantle, who told me of his conversation with the Duke of W——, which terminates that business just as I expected. The moment that the pressure of immediate difficulty is removed by the prorogation, they are content to go to sleep, just as they did in autumn, and depend upon what good fortune, chance, or the chapter of accidents may send them before next session, which will find them just as unfit, unprepared, and incapable as the present has left them. They all say that Lord Liverpool is in a state of such nervous irritation, from mental distress

and the accumulation of business which has taken place in his absence, that it is impossible to get an answer from him upon anything. I spoke the other day to Lord Londonderry about Henry, and he held just the same language as before—hope of making an early communication, but had not yet been able to speak to Lord Liverpool.

Report states the intended reduction to be four regiments of dragoons, three of infantry, and ten men per troop and company on the remainder. I doubt the dragoons, since that would be lower than the establishment of 1792.

The Ordnance is also to be well pared.

Ever yours,

C. W. W.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, July 7, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I am just come from the Duke of W——, who had shown your letter to Lord Liverpool. Of course he said little upon it, more than admitting the general terms and the necessity of forming a strong Government.

I found him, however, I think, a great deal more irritable on the subject of the King, full of anger, and vexation, and complaint of the difficulties in which the Cabinet was placed; every hour increasing those difficulties from the conduct *he* was pursuing, not only by his *flirtation* with the Opposition, but by his strange whims and orders respecting the Coronation, and the impatience he already shows at any reductions, particularly when they touch the military. However, these are things that must be fought, and as I again repeated, the sooner the better. I found, however, from the Duke, that the great resistance was made

to the re-introduction of Canning (and this is, I think, material for you to know). *He* cannot forgive him, and the particular offence is the letter he wrote to B——, explaining the grounds of his conduct regarding the Queen, and in which he stated he "was no party to laying the green bag on the table of the House of Commons," which is a direct falsehood. By this you will observe where the *hitch* rests; and it is likewise gratifying, with your views of the subject, to feel that the Cabinet consider a strong Government can only be constituted by the admission of Canning; indeed, the Duke entered into this part with a great deal of reasoning on the state of the House of Commons.

The more I hear and see of the matter, the more convinced I am that the whole thing hangs on a thread; that if the King dared turn them out he would, that is, he would submit to the influence of Lady C—— in so doing, but I don't know that if it were not but for this influence he would be so disposed. That the Cabinet knowing this are cautious not to give him any good ground, and not to exasperate him at the present moment. You cannot imagine the state of irritation in which the Duke was this morning, and I think not a little of it arose from the result of an interview which Lord Anglesea had with the King yesterday, for he said to me among other things—"You have no idea the mischief that is done to us by persons who have an opportunity of seeing and conversing with the King. Lord Anglesea saw him yesterday, and this has interfered already in our proposed military reductions." Afterwards he said—"There are not less than five Pagets named for situations at the Coronation." I give you all this to show the tone and temper.

I told him when he was talking over the state of the House of Commons, that I thought if he could in the ar-

rangement secure the most efficient of the present members of Government, together with your squadron, Canning, and Peel, such a Government might defy not only the Opposition, but all the folly, or indiscretion, or passion of the King; to which he said, "It is the only Government that ought to be formed." Nothing could exceed his indignation and abuse of Lady C——. He said the situation in which she was now placed, was one she had been seeking for twenty years; that her whole object was patronage and patronage alone; that she mingled in everything she could, and it was entirely owing to the necessary interference of the Government on one or two points, and the offence given by Lady Castlereagh in not inviting her, that her present animosity to the Government proceeded, and the consequent difficulties with the King.

I have run on till the bell-man is actually passing; probably you will be in town before Sunday, when I shall see you, but I am compelled by business to go on that day. Adieu.

Ever most truly yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

P.S.—The Peerages are expected out to-night, nobody knows why Lord Rous is made an Earl.

MR. C. W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

MY DEAR B——,

Many thanks to you for your two letters. The account which Fremantle yesterday gave me of his second conversation with the Duke of W—— certainly bore a more decisive character than anything which had previously passed; still, even that is symptomatic of the general

weakness and procrastination which marks the Administration in general and Lord Liverpool in particular. In general I concur most fully in the sentiments which you have expressed in your letter to Fremantle. Perhaps I do not so much wish as you do for Lord Liverpool's continuance in his present department; as, notwithstanding the weight which attaches to his character, I believe that the peculiar peril of the present day might be encountered with greater probability of success if Lord Londonderry were to unite that office with the lead of the House of Commons.

I do not yet know exactly whether I can be with you on Wednesday or Thursday, but on one of them I certainly will. I find that there is a probability of the Oxford election being deferred till the 23rd, or possibly the 24th. I think Heber has a fair probability of success, if his friends exert themselves; but his committee wants very much the order and method of your arrangements in St. James's Square. I fear that of the new Peers there will be a considerable majority against the Catholics. I can only find William Pole, Lord Ormond, and perhaps Liddell, among the favourable, and all the remainder who had not previous votes as representative peers, hostile.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, July 10, 1821.

My dear Lord B——,

I think I shall determine to return to town on the 17th or 18th, because I do not see how the bustle of the coronation can reach me in Cleveland Square, if I carefully

avoid all nearer approach to it; so that, according to my present projects, I think I shall certainly see you in London. My expectation is that, more or less immediately, the influence of the lady will effect the change that she is supposed to be working for, more especially as I believe her lover's vanity would rather be flattered by the ostentation of displaying her power and influence on this subject, in spite of the manifest impropriety of her appearing in public affairs, and the hazard which might attend such a manifestation in times like the present and with the jealousy which the public mind has already shown upon these topics.

I perfectly agree with you also in the apprehensions which you express, of the weakness of the present ministers inviting and acquiescing in the transfer of the executive government from official responsibility to votes and resolutions and debates.

If the Opposition shall succeed to office, I shall certainly think their success not a whit more creditable to them on this occasion, than was their disgraceful failure last year; but whenever that happens, a new state of things will arise, which will create perhaps a difficult question, and certainly a most important one, as to the more or less support which the public interests might demand for them. If they take the government diffident of their own strength, they may court popularity among the lower ranks by measures, under the specious name of reform, which might irrecoverably ruin the constitution of the country, before they could be displaced; if, on the other hand, they could promise themselves a fair and extensive parliamentary support in endeavouring to bring back to government its proper dignity, authority, and responsibility, that would be so great a public good that all possible means should be taken to support it, however

objectionable their conduct out of office had been: the difficulty would be to decide that important question; we shall have time enough to think and talk it over.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

White's, July 14, 1821.

It is impossible to describe to you half the lies or inventions that daily take place. To-day it is said, and confidently, that the King has nominated four extra Knights of the Thistle—Lauderdale, Cassilis, Melville, and Aboyne. The preparations for the Coronation are going on with infinite energy, but I should think with equal confusion. A grand quarrel between the Lord Great Chamberlain and the Earl Marshal, the latter engrossing all the Abbey, and the other all the Hall, and not allowing the smallest interference or even suggestion from each other. The King perfectly absorbed in all these petty arrangements of dress, seats, &c. A private box prepared in the Hall for the Great Chamberlain, in which Lady Conyngham is accommodated. Lord Conyngham said to-day, at White's, that he and family were to depart for Ireland immediately after the levee; not to wait for the ball which is to be given on Friday, 27th, at Carlton House. It is generally believed that Lord Sidmouth forgot to sign his name to the letter to the Queen; but the extraordinary part is, that yesterday it was generally understood, even by the Government, that the Queen was to have a place at the Abbey, and this I fully believe; but that the King said he had a full and complete control over the Hall, and *there* she should not come; and I believe this is the cause of the rejection altogether.

You can have no idea what an impression it makes in

the public, the conduct of the King towards his Government. The flirtation he holds with the Opposition, and his general estrangement from them; the appointments he makes, without the least communication with them. I dined yesterday at the Duchess of Rutland's, where there was a large party of Government people, and where nothing else was talked of. The arrangement for reduction is this at present—ten men reduced from every troop in every cavalry regiment, and twenty-five per cent. from all official situations, high and low; this is what I heard to-day.

I go out of town early to-morrow. You will no doubt have much communication with the Duke of Wellington when you come, and, if he is as full as when I last saw him, you will hear much to astonish, and, I think, to alarm you.

Lord Lansdowne's appointment is confirmed.

Ever yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, July 11, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I waited till the last moment to see if I could pick up anything for you. Hume was cut off in the middle of his speech. The Queen certainly means to come to the Royal box at the Coronation, and it is now said the Cabinet have decided on providing her a seat. Whether this is true or not I cannot say; but they are mad if they leave her to fight the battle in the street, which she will certainly do. The peerages are delayed on account of the question of titles. Forester can't be Lord Forester or Wenlock, the latter claimed by Lawleys, the former possessed at present

by Lord Verulam. Forester out of town, and expresses going to settle this. The list of Peers has given great offence to the friends of Government; and, to be sure, if England had been looked through for pretensions, there could hardly [have] been found a set of men who had so little claim. Lord Donoughmore (the Opposition say) is to take the title of Alexandria in honour of his brother, who was made a Peer for his conquests there. Old Foster is to be one of the new Peers; he was not before named. I do not hear any confirmation of Lord Lansdowne's appointment as High Constable of Ireland, and I therefore doubt it. Lady Conyngham dined a few days ago at Lord Gwydyr's; among the party was Brougham, who had pleaded in the morning before the Privy Council for the Queen. The report of the Queen's attending the Coronation has given such an impression of riot, that the seats have fallen to nothing, and, though they are preparing accommodation for thousands and thousands, the sale of tickets is very heavy indeed. I am frightened for the yeomanry, and hope Lord Temple will be able to get them well back without a row. I am sorry I shall not see you, for I must go on Saturday, and have a long appointment for Monday on public business in the country. You have no idea of the million of reports which are hourly propagating here on the subject of the Government and Lady Conyngham, and the Coronation, &c. &c. The town is absolutely in a ferment. You shall hear to-morrow from me.

Ever truly yours,
W. H. F.

The day appointed for the imposing pageant, the Coronation, came at last. The Queen had made several vain efforts to obtain a recognition of her

right to be crowned at the same time as the King; but the Privy Council decided against her on the 10th of July. Nothing daunted, the day following she wrote to Lord Sidmouth to inform his Lordship of her intention to be present, and a few days later published a protest against the decision of the Privy Council. On the 16th, Lord Hood, at her desire, wrote to the Earl Marshal, informing the Duke (of Norfolk) of her Majesty's intention to be present at the approaching ceremony on the 19th, and desiring that persons should be in attendance to conduct her to her seat on her arrival at the Abbey. The day arrived, and so did the Queen; but though she tried, with Lord Hood's assistance, to gain admission at more than one door, her entrance was opposed. She was not only obliged to endure this repulse, but sounds assailed her ears as soon as she was recognised by the spectators in the galleries, that declared how completely she had fallen in public estimation. Mortified and humiliated, she at last returned to her residence; and, though a mob of disorderly boys broke the windows of mansions belonging to noblemen known to be opposed to her, the intelligence failed to afford her sufficient solace. Lord Eldon thus describes her Majesty's final exhibition of spirit: "It is all over, quite safe and well. The Queen's attempt to make mischief, failed. She sent a message to say that she would be at the Abbey by eight o'clock. To take the persons there by surprise, she came between six

and seven. After trying every door of the Abbey in vain, she came to the Hall; there she was also denied entrance. A few of the mob called 'Queen for ever!' I am informed that, on the other hand, there was great hissing, cries of 'Shame, shame! go to Bergamo!' and a gentleman in the Hall told us that when her Majesty got into the carriage again, she wept."[1]

She felt the crushing nature of this disappointment, and though she made an effort—a vain one, of course—to induce the Archbishop of Canterbury to crown her a day or two later, she was so thoroughly overwhelmed by this complete downfall of her hopes, that she became seriously ill, and died on the 7th of August—a week after the King had left Carlton House for Ireland. The suddenness of her death created to some extent a reaction of public opinion in her favour, particularly among the lower orders, and riots of a serious nature attended the passage of her remains through the metropolis, on their way to Brunswick; but the nine days' wonder had scarcely lived out its brief reign, when the town was entertaining itself with accounts of the King's amazing popularity in Ireland, in a manner that betrayed its eagerness to get rid, as soon as possible, of a disagreeable subject. Thus passed away Caroline of Brunswick—a character variously represented by that very unsatisfactory

[1] Twiss's "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 48.

photograph, Party; but, though the likeness has often been idealized by those whose credit was likely to suffer by too natural a resemblance, sufficient physiognomical likeness has remained to show that she was far from being the sort of woman a sensible man would court for a wife, or the kind of Princess that would confer any distinction on the nation that would accept her as a Queen.

CHAPTER V.

[1821.]

EFFECT OF QUEEN CAROLINE'S ILLNESS AND DEATH ON THE KING—HIS NARROW ESCAPE IN THE ROYAL YACHT—HIS VISIT TO IRELAND—ENTRY INTO DUBLIN—POSITION OF THE KING'S MINISTERS—GEORGE IV. ON THE FIELD OF WATERLOO—THE KING'S VISIT TO HIS HANOVERIAN DOMINIONS—COALITIONS AND DOUBLE NEGOTIATION—POLITICAL GOSSIP—A NEW CLUB—DISMISSAL OF SIR ROBERT WILSON FROM THE ARMY—PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION FOR HIM.

CHAPTER V.

INTELLIGENCE of the serious character of Queen Caroline's malady reached the King, as was stated in the last chapter, when his Majesty was making a yachting excursion, and its effect upon his mind may be gathered from the following extract of a letter written by the King soon after the information had reached him:—

"On Tuesday, at noon, as I had heard nothing from my friend Lord Sidmouth, who had passed over to the other coast some hours before, we took up our anchorage here. We had reason to know he had heard the report before he left Holyhead, and it was determined, as the best medium line that could be adopted until I could hear from him, that I should proceed for twelve hours to Lord Anglesea's. Accordingly, I wrote to Lord Sidmouth and Bloomfield to acquaint them with the communication I had received respecting the Queen, to account for the delay in my not proceeding to Ireland, and desiring Lord Sidmouth's advice as to what I had best do, and that he would make all the

arrangements which might be necessary under existing circumstances.

"I returned from Plas Newydd to my yacht here about four o'clock on the next day (Wednesday), and found Lord Sidmouth just disembarked, and ready to receive me. He stayed about two hours with me on board, and then again took his passage in the steam-boat, having arranged with me that if the accounts from London of the Queen the next day should represent her to be in an improved state, that then we should set sail as quickly as possible, and land at Dunleary, and make my public *entrée* at Dublin on that day (Friday), although he had already taken measures for a private entry if matters should be worse, as it was utterly impossible for me, under any circumstances, not to proceed now to Ireland, where public notice would be given that I should observe the strictest privacy for some days, until we were acquainted either with the Queen's recovery or her demise, and till after the body should be interred.

"Lord Londonderry fortunately arrived the next morning, after Lord Sidmouth left me—that is to say, yesterday (Thursday), before seven o'clock in the morning—and has remained with me, and will continue to do so till I have set my foot on the Irish shore. He approved of all the arrangements I had made with Lord Sidmouth as the best possible, and with every view I had taken of the whole circumstance; and it is now determined that, either

in the course of the day, or as soon as possible as the wind and weather will permit (but which at present does not appear very encouraging), we are to set sail either in the yacht alone, or by steam to Ireland; to make Howth (about five miles from Dublin), and to proceed, without any sort of show or display, to the Phœnix Park, without entering or passing through Dublin at all. My arrival there will then be publicly announced, and that the strictest privacy for a few days will be observed, as far as proper decency and decorum may require; and that after that the day will be announced when I shall make my public *entrée*, and when all public ceremonies and rejoicings will commence."[1]

This careful attention to decency and decorum disproves all the reckless allegations that have been put forward of the King's indifference, or, as some writers have asserted, exultation, when intelligence reached him of the serious nature of the Queen's indisposition. It proceeded further than is indicated in the extract just quoted; for, when he put to sea with the intention of returning to England, his Majesty and all the royal suite had a narrow escape from a watery grave. The scene is thus graphically described by his Majesty's hand:

"We sailed again yesterday morning between four and five o'clock, with a most promising breeze in our favour, to make the Land's End. About

[1] Knighton's "Memoirs," p. 91.

two or three in the evening the wind shifted immediately in our teeth, a violent hurricane and tempest suddenly arose, the most dreadful possible of nights and of scenes ensued, the sea breaking everywhere over the ship. We lost the tiller, and the vessel was for some minutes down on her beam-ends; and nothing, I believe, but the undaunted presence of mind, perseverance, experience, and courage of Paget preserved us from a watery grave. The oldest and most experienced of our sailors were petrified and paralysed; you may judge somewhat, then, of what was the state of most of the passengers; every one almost flew up in their shirts upon deck in terrors that are not to be described."[1]

In this position the Royal yacht and her amateur sailors must have made a study for a marine painter, than which nothing, we believe, more striking has ever appeared on canvas. The King subsequently sailed on his intended visit to the sister island, and arrived off the coast in due course. On his Majesty's landing, the inhabitants of Dublin and of the neighbourhood, says a chronicler of these events, "escorted him with the most tumultuous acclamations to the vice-regal lodge, from the steps of which he thus addressed them:—'This is one of the happiest days of my life. I have long wished to visit you. My heart has always been Irish; from the day it first beat I loved Ireland, and this

[1] Knighton's "Memoirs," p. 94.

day has shown me that I am beloved by my Irish subjects. Rank, station, honours, are nothing; but to feel that I live in the hearts of my Irish subjects is to me exalted happiness.'"

"These felicitous expressions," we are told, "diffused universal enchantment, and combined with the graceful condescension and dignified affability of manner, which the Sovereign knew so well to exhibit when inclined to do so, roused the loyalty of the people to a perfect enthusiasm. For the week that he remained there, his life was a continued triumph."[1]

His stay in the island was marked by a series of loyal demonstrations that could not fail of producing in the mind of his Majesty intense gratification. On the 15th of August the King held a private levee at the Lodge in Phœnix Park, Dublin, at which the principal members of the Irish Government were presented. On the 17th was his public entry into the metropolis, when his progress to the Castle was a scene of devotion such as Dublin had never before exhibited. He re-embarked at Kingston on the 5th of September, but did not quit the Irish shore till three days later. After a stormy passage, he returned to English ground at Milford Haven on the 13th, and arrived at Carlton House on the 15th of the same month. Some particulars of this memorable visit hitherto unknown may be found in the following letters.

[1] Alison's "History of Europe," vol. ii. p. 486.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Engleficld Green, Aug. 26, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

Not knowing in what part of the world a letter would find you, I have not written. I don't know whether you have heard any of the details from Ireland, but the conduct of the Irish is beyond all conception of loyalty and adulation, and I fear will serve to strengthen those feelings of self-will and personal authority which are at all times uppermost in The Mind. The passage to Dublin was occupied in eating goose-pie and drinking whiskey, in which his Majesty partook most abundantly, singing many joyous songs, and being in a state, on his arrival, to double in sight even the numbers of his gracious subjects assembled on the pier to receive him. The fact was, that they were in the last stage of intoxication. However, they got him to the Park. Lady C—— has been almost constantly at the Phœnix Park, but has not appeared much in public. He was greatly satisfied at the time with the conduct of Lord Liverpool, &c., on the death of the Queen, and it had reconciled him to them. Whether these sentiments will remain is more than I can say. I think her death a great gain to the Whigs; it relieves them from great embarrassment. The officers of the Guards have sent in to the Duke of York a remonstrance against the conduct of Sir Robert Wilson[1] on the day of the funeral. He has been called upon to give in his answer, which I understand he has done. I have no doubt, on the King's return, he will be

[1] This officer took a prominent part in the disturbances created by the populace of London on the passage of the Queen's remains through the metropolis, to be embarked for the Continent.

dismissed the army, which he ought to be. His conduct was most atrocious, leading and directing the mob.

The King is determined to go to Hanover, and has engaged to be there on the 16th. If this holds good, which I have no doubt it will, nothing will take place till after his return from thence. He wrote to the Duchess of Gloucester from Dublin, full of joy and happiness and spirits. Not a soul in Ireland in mourning. The person most talked of to succeed Lord Hertford is Lord Wellesley. Lord Stewart does not return to Vienna.[1] Heber gains his election, which I am delighted at, for it was an attempt to shake the interest and strength of Lord Grenville in the University.

Ever, my dear Lord, most faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

P.S.—I hear the Whigs at present disclaim the conduct of Lushington.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Bagshot Park, Sept. 5, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I send you a few lines from hence, where I have been staying a few days. The Duke of G—— is full of the idea of changes in the Government, but is fully convinced it will not be to take in the Whigs. He thinks Lord Liverpool is to go, and Lord Londonderry to be at the head of the Government; and the latter, you may be assured, from all I have heard, has replaced himself in the King's good opinion, and has equal influence to what he has ever had.

[1] This is incorrect. His lordship subsequently succeeded his brother as Marquis of Londonderry, when he threw up his appointment as ambassador at the Court of Austria rather than serve under Mr. Canning.

The Irish journey has done this. The Duke has not the least idea of the real state of things; but I find from him the Whigs are aware of some change before the meeting. I cannot at all guess whether the steps which were proposed are intended previous to the King's departure for Hanover. He will be in town to-morrow if the wind permits, or perhaps he may be delayed a few days. He proposed to leave town for Hanover the 16th or 17th. He appoints Lords Justices (not a Regency), to consist of all his Ministers, together with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Steward and Master of the Horse, and the Lord Chamberlain. These are to do nothing but the common routine of business. Lord Londonderry accompanies the King abroad; and all correspondence is to be kept up through him, and no appointments of any sort to take place but such as absolutely demand immediate filling up. He goes to Vienna, and Paris, and Homburg, Munich, &c., &c.: such is his present intention. He cannot be back till the end of November or December, and I can hardly conceive it possible they will defer all changes till that time, when any new members of a Government must be so ignorant of measures just as the meeting of Parliament is about to take place. The Duke of Wellington will be back from Paris time enough to meet the King. *I do not believe* one word of Lord Liverpool's going out. He certainly has not done the thing well as to the funeral; but the great blame is in that booby, Sir R. Baker. Lady C—— has been living with the King at the Phœnix Park, and he has never slept out but at Slane Castle. The Royal yacht went to Holyhead to take her over to Dublin; the Admiralty yacht took the Princess Augusta to Ostend. The latter does not go to Hanover; it is said the former does. Lord Grosvenor loses upwards of 80,000*l.* by his agent

More's failure. He has two vacancies for Shaftesbury, and brings in Mr. Ralph Leicester, of Toft, in Cheshire, and offers the other seat to Lord Normanby. I see Canning is waiting in England (having intended to return to France), which looks very like an immediate arrangement. I suppose you heard that a Board of General Officers is examining into the conduct of Sir Robert Wilson on the 14th. I think I told you this in my last.

The story abroad is, that they are trying to cook up a match for the King with a Princess of Tour and Taxis (I believe a sister of the Duchess of Cumberland), and a sister of the Princess Esterhazy. Metternich is at the bottom of it. Query, whether Lady C—— will oppose or promote a match? If her lord would go, other objects might occur to her; indeed, it is hinted that she is trying to push her daughter for the prize. The Duchess of G—— had a long letter from the King a few days ago, full of the highest spirits.

I think I have told you all I have picked up.

Ever most truly yours,

W. H. F.

MR. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Llangedwin, Sept. 9, 1821.

MY DEAR B——,

The enclosed letter came to-day from Wheatley. I send it you, though I certainly do not attach much credit to the virtuous refusal of the Whigs to come in under Lady Conyngham's auspices, forasmuch as I should rather believe that if the daughter of the Devil would engage to bring them in, they would even conform to the condition of admitting old Nicholas (not Vansittart) as their col-

league and patron. The opinion of the breach between the King and his Ministers being past all mending, seems every day to gain ground, for I hear of it from different quarters. If the King goes to Hanover, it seems almost impossible that he should return in time to make any new arrangement before the meeting of Parliament.

My uncle has, I find, returned from Bowood, strongly impressed in his own mind with the wish of Lord Lansdowne, to form an Administration in conjunction with us, if he can effect it.

Certainly this is what I should individually prefer to any other arrangement, but it is impossible not to see the extreme difficulty which must arise in drawing a line between the less violent and more furious of the Opposition, since no man can say where that line should run, or who should be included in each division.

It hardly can be desirable that we should select that moment for connecting ourselves with those whom we have so long opposed, when they are on the point of being kicked out, when they have lost both the favour of the Crown and the confidence of the House of Commons. Yet that is the present appearance, and I think you will agree that our union with them could not of itself be sufficient to save them, unless Canning were also included, and unless we could see some reasonable probability of an arrangement of the Catholic question, which I am inclined to fear the King's visit to Ireland, by raising the hopes and the tone of the Irish Catholics, will place at a greater distance than ever. If the King has really made up his mind to part with his present Ministers, it is not unlikely that instead of taking upon himself the responsibility of turning them out, he may only negative any minor change, and so either drive them to resign, or instigate the House of

Commons to turn them out in the first month of the next Session. The miscarriage of all the Irish Peerages must of course manifest still more publicly than before the bad understanding between master and servants. Pray send me word what you have heard on that subject, as well as on the general posture of things. Your host is lucky that the dispute did not arise on the English instead of the Irish Peerages.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Sept. 16, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I went to town with the express object of seeing the Duke, but did not succeed; I called twice on him, but he was from home, and I did not think it was advisable to write to ask to see him, as it would have looked so very like impatience, and I am quite sure that until the King's arrival he would have been able to say nothing. I find the King arrived yesterday evening, but my full belief is, that nothing will be done till his return; I differ with you, however, completely in thinking that this fever of loyalty in Ireland will induce them to try to tide on; I am quite convinced the thing is impossible, the state of the public mind in this country is so agitated, the unpopularity of the King so great, the weakness of Government so apparent, and the general resistance to the reductions, both civil and military, so strongly demonstrated in the supporters of Government, that I am quite satisfied a change must take place, and I have quite altered my opinion with regard to his taking the Opposition. He may try Lord Lansdowne (which will fail), but my speculation is, that your friends and Canning will

be and must be in office, previous to the opening of Parliament. You see by all the papers that Lord Talbot is to remain another year, and I think if it were not true, it would have been contradicted. The change I contemplate is—Canning, Home Secretary (Sidmouth retiring, who wants to do so), and you Admiralty, Melville the India Board, and B. Bathurst making way for Wynn. I consider the *boutique* of Sidmouth as going altogether; how it will be arranged I won't pretend to say, but this is the quarter that is to make the opening.

I never in my life heard of anything equal to the K——'s infatuation and conduct towards Lady C——. She lived exclusively with him during the whole time he was in Ireland at the Phœnix Park. When he went to Slane, she received him dressed out as for a drawing-room. He saluted her, and they then retired alone to her apartments. A yacht is left to bring her over, and she and the whole family go to Hanover. I hear the Irish are outrageously jealous of her, and though courting her to the greatest degree, are loud in their indignation at Lord C——. This is just like them. I agree in all you say about Ireland. As there is no chance of the boon being granted, no Lord Lieutenant could have a chance of ingratiating himself, or of fair justice done him, with the King's promises and flattery. I cannot see how he can be so long absent as his journey must necessarily make him. I have heard it thus calculated:—Supposing he sets off the 24th or 26th; a fortnight to Hanover, as he goes through the Low Countries and visits the King of the Netherlands; this would make it the 10th October. A month there, 10th November. A fortnight's journey and stay at Vienna, 24th November. A fortnight more from Vienna to Hamburg, Wurtemberg, and to Paris, 10th December. Four

days at Paris, about the 15th or 16th December return. And all this with the present state of the country. I do not think it possible for him to be allowed to do it. I have not touched upon expense, for although it is said Hanover is to pay for his stay there, the presents and remainder of the journey must be paid by England.

Whatever I hear, you shall have forwarded to you as quickly as I can. I shall direct always to Pall Mall. I think of going to Brighton for some warm baths next week.

Ever most truly yours,

W. H. F.

P.S.—I hear Lord Lauderdale is *seriously* ill.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Sept. 21, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

The arrangements for the foreign tour are all changed since the King's return from Ireland. Vienna, Hamburg, Wurtemberg, and Paris are given up, and he goes only to Hanover, sails from Ramsgate to Ostend, visits the King of the Netherlands, and passes on immediately. His promises are that he will return in six weeks; and there has been a great exertion to induce him to give up the foreign tour altogether, but this could not be carried.

No appointments whatever have been made—not the Chamberlainship—and you see his name omitted in the Lords Justices. With regard to these appointments and changes, I am thoroughly convinced they will take place before the meeting, but I really think on every account it would be unwise, and too much beneath your dignity, and indeed injurious to your objects, was I to see the D——

of W——, to know more upon it at present. It would place him, perhaps, in a very awkward predicament, and after his solemn assurances and written communications to you personally and through me, he must write to you or send to me should the arrangements be relinquished.

Be assured the state of the public mind is such that they cannot attempt to tide over another session. The King in his journey home overtook Lord and Lady Harcourt (now the bosom friends of Lady C——), stopped them, got out of his carriage, and sat with them for a quarter of an hour in the public road, recounting all his perilous adventures at sea and flattering reception in Ireland. Lady Harcourt told me his *pious acknowledgment* for his great escape of being shipwrecked was quite edifying, and the very great change in his moral habits and religious feelings was quite astonishing, and all owing to Lady C——.

The Duchess of Gloucester went to see him yesterday. He was in particular good health and spirits, but not so much enraptured with Ireland as she expected to see him. I believe he is a little alarmed at the advances and favour he has shown to the Catholics. Lord Londonderry is in the highest possible favour, which certainly don't look like the Whigs coming in, although many circumstances give reason to think Lord Liverpool will go, which, however, I shall never believe till I see. It was not intended to have named the Duke of York in the Lords Justices, but for some reason which I can't tell you, his name was inserted. They are to execute nothing but absolute necessary measures, and to fill up no appointments without communication with the King. Lord Londonderry accompanies him to Hanover —all the family of the C——s also, which the Duchess of Cambridge does not very much relish. I shall leave this place on Saturday; therefore, if you write to me, direct

to Stanhope Street. I think of being at Brighton about Tuesday or Wednesday.

Ever truly yours,

W. H. F.

The particulars, as I understand, of Sir Robert Wilson, are what is stated in the papers; but they have the additional proof of his having paid individuals for breaking up the road and intercepting the hearse; I believe he has not even a feather to stand upon, the facts are so strong against him. The King is to go to Waterloo, Sir Andrew Barnard, Lord Francis Conyngham, Sir William Knighton, and Sir B. Bloomfield are all that are at present appointed to accompany him.

Adieu, my dear Lord,

Ever sincerely yours,

W. H. F.

The King quitted England to visit Hanover, embarking from Ramsgate, and disembarking at Calais, whence the royal party proceeded by way of Lisle to Brussels; then, attended by Prince Frederick of Holland, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Clancarty, he rode to the field of Waterloo. It was a locality full of the deepest interest to the King, increased by his Majesty having for his *cicerone* the victor who had made it so celebrated. The weather was bad, but it did not in the least damp his Majesty's ardour, or make him abate his curiosity. He went "into the little church of the village, examined all the tablets of inscriptions upon the walls, then visited the willow-tree

under which was buried the shattered limb of Lord Anglesea, and seemed greatly impressed with all around him." Nothing escaped him, he carefully examined every position, and did not leave the field till he was master of all the details of the battle.

The party then proceeded to Namur, thence to Aix-la-Chapelle, which they reached on the 2nd of October, and entered the dominions of the King of Prussia on the 4th; the royal suite consisting of forty horses, besides the escort. Though the King's reception by the Prussians was very satisfactory, no time was lost in getting into his own territories, which he reached on the 6th, resting at the palace of Osnabruck.

An incident occurred during the King's sojourn in his German dominions which has thus been recorded. "Early in the morning a poor woman, with a countenance apparently much worn with sorrow, on her knees presented a paper to the King's Hanoverian Chamberlain, which was rejected. I saw this from the saloon, from which I was looking down on the many thousand persons assembled in the court-yard, and I observed the expression of despair which followed. I hastened down, fearing to lose sight of her, got her petition, and presented it to the King. It craved his mercy for her husband, who was doomed to five years' hard labour in a fortress. She was the mother of eight little

children, and, it need not be added, in great poverty and want. The crime was of a nature to be pardoned, and this was done by the King, with his pen, instantly, for here his authority is absolute. We had the poor woman in the saloon, and you may imagine the rest."[1]

The visit excited a great deal of Hanoverian enthusiasm, the whole population of Osnabruck coming out to greet their King, and all the streets through which the royal cavalcade passed were strewed with flowers and evergreens. "Every village, too," adds the same authority, "had triumphal arches erected, with appropriate inscriptions, all bearing evident marks of real religion."[2] The pastor in his robes is described as standing by the whole parish on either side, and the women carrying their Bibles under their arms.

The King's reception at Hanover was equally gratifying. His Majesty made his entry on horseback, and the occasion produced a grand spectacle. His Majesty held a levee and a drawing-room in the capital, which was brilliantly attended; and everything was proceeding in the most gratifying way, when a severe fit of the gout, brought on by spraining his knee when getting on horseback, put a stop to all festivities. This occurred about the middle of October, and he did not commence his

[1] Knighton's "Memoirs," p. 106. [2] Ibid., p. 107.

return till the end of the month, when the same enthusiastic spirit accompanied his progress. "Every town and village was crowded. The sacred emblem of the arch, with flowers and branches of trees, with happy devices, prevailed everywhere. The peasantry all well dressed." Subsequently, a curious incident occurred. "Some hundreds of miners from the mountains came to serenade their king. They are a particular race of Saxon origin, and for centuries have preserved their customs, language, and manners. Their countenance is interesting; I saw five or six in a room. They have a resigned silent melancholy, arising, I believe, from being so much underground; they are very religious. They sang with a band of music, two of the most beautiful hymns I ever heard. These miners had walked thirty miles for the purpose of paying their devotion to their sovereign."[1]

A tournament was got up for his entertainment at Göttingen, which is described as having been beautiful and magnificent. At this famous university an address was presented by the authorities, that affected the King to tears. He had felt warmly the loyal affection his continental subjects had so earnestly displayed; and of the visits he had paid to different portions of his dominions, he appears to have enjoyed this the most thoroughly. His return journey was rendered gratifying by the fine weather with which it was

[1] Knighton's "Memoirs," p. 114.

accompanied, and the beautiful scenery through which he passed. Everything seemed to favour him, and he reached England without being sensibly affected by the fatigue, and with his general health very much improved.

The impression his Majesty made was not always favourable. "I cannot help suspecting," observes an intelligent cotemporary, "that his Majesty's late journeys to see his kingdoms of Ireland and Hanover will not on the whole redound much to his honour or advantage. His manners no doubt are, when he pleases, very graceful and captivating. No man knows better how to add to an obligation by the way of conferring it. But on the whole he wants dignity, not only in the seclusion and familiarity of his more private life, but on public occasions. The secret of popularity in very high stations seems to consist in a somewhat reserved and lofty, but courteous and uniform behaviour. Drinking toasts, shaking people by the hand, and calling them Jack and Tom, gets more applause at the moment, but fails entirely in the long run. He seems to have behaved not like a sovereign coming in pomp and state to visit a part of his dominions, but like a popular candidate come down upon an electioneering trip. If the day before he left Ireland he had stood for Dublin, he would, I dare say, have turned out Shaw or Grattan. Henry IV. is a dangerous example for sovereigns that are not, like him, splendid chevaliers and consummate

captains. Louis XIV., who was never seen but in a full-bottomed wig, even by his valet-de-chambre, is a much safer model."[1]

The rumours of changes in the Government had taken every possible shape; but, like the long-talked of negotiation to include the Grenvilles, though often imminent, had never been accomplished. The probable reason of this may be traced to the King's varying disposition—possibly to his insincerity. It appears that two arrangements were going on at the same time, totally opposite in their intentions; one, a coalition of the Marquis of Buckingham and his friends, was negotiated by the Duke of Wellington, with the express authority of the King; the other, the introduction of a Whig Ministry, with the Marquis of Lansdowne at their head, was evidently brought forward under less creditable auspices, but could scarcely have gone on without the King's cognizance. We are much afraid that it was but a repetition of the old "Comedy of Errors," performed during the Regency, where the principal character trifled with both parties, till he had made more advantageous terms with the servants in his employ. The comedy, however, still proceeded, for the last act had yet to be played out.

[1] Lord Dudley's "Letters," p. 295.

MR. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Llangedwin, Oct. 4, 1821.

I am very much obliged to you, my dear B——, for your letter. I scarcely know what to wish as the final result of the arrangement. If I had entirely my own way, I should desire that Lord Londonderry should unite the offices of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Liverpool take some other office; but this is not to be hoped for, and the question resolves itself into that whether the increased strength which the Government would derive from placing its chief in the House of Commons, would counterbalance the general loss of character and influence which would result from the retirement of Lord Liverpool. On the whole, I am disposed to think it would; added to which is the advantage which would result from the whole strength, if not the whole of the Cabinet, being unanimous on the Catholic question. You are perfectly right, in my opinion, in determining not to go to Ireland unless you can carry concession to the Catholics with you. It is true that the King's language to them is perfectly undecisive, and cannot be construed into anything like a pledge or assurance of support, but still the complexion of his general conduct has been such as to convey, not to them only, an impression of his favourable disposition, and unless he makes some marked demonstration the other way, I am convinced you will perceive the effect in the next divisions in both Houses. Many hold the language of disapprobation of concession, but at the same time express the opinion that it must be carried, and if so, the sooner the better. These will never support the measure, but will be well disposed to stay away.

Lady C—— seems to hazard a good deal in letting her

husband and two sons perform the parts of deputy guardian angels while she remains behind, especially if Lord Londonderry be in favour again, since he may contrive to bring some rival charmer in view.

I quite agree with you that there is no difference of principle which opposes our union with Lord Londonderry. The whole resolves itself into a question of expediency. Is there a prospect of his being able to form with us an administration strong enough to carry on the public business advantageously and creditably? And this we have not the means of answering till we know more fully what the plan and what the further intentions are. If there appeared any reasonable chance of our carrying the Catholic question, I should myself feel that a paramount motive to accede to the Government, even if I were certain that the King's aversion to the individual Ministers joined to the general feebleness of the administration, were sure to break it up the next day after that object had been effected.

Vansittart's retirement from the Exchequer is indispensable, and if Castlereagh does not himself take the office, Huskisson is the only candidate for it whom I should think likely. Canning would be objected to by Lord L——, and Robinson is wholly unequal.

All this, however, is premature, and till we have more data to reason upon, a mere useless consumption of ink and paper.

Meanwhile, the state of Ireland seems to show that the blessed conciliation effected by H. M.'s visit is confined to those districts which have been illuminated by his countenance, and doubts may be entertained whether the reduction of the army may not have proceeded somewhat too far. It is not likely that as the nights lengthen they will become more tranquil.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

MR. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Welshpool, Oct. 12, 1821.

MY DEAR B——,

Henry's *beau frère*, Bob Smith, came down to Llanvorda last week with the story of a violent quarrel about the appointment of Lord Conyngham to be Master of the Horse, which the K——, when last in town, insisted on. That Ministers positively refused, and on the Sunday night tendered their resignations. That the K—— would not give a final answer, but postponed his decision till after his return, and so set out with Lord C—— in his carriage and his two sons in his suite. He also, I understand, told Henry that Canning had refused office unless we were included, which piece of intelligence makes me incredulous as to the rest, though most positively asserted, since from what you have told me, the persons in the latter story ought to be nearly reversed.

The Opposition seem to think the result to be that the ball is at Lord Lansdowne's feet, which may be true, and yet he unable to take it up.

There was a grand Whig dinner at Chester on Tuesday, and by calling in Wales, Lancashire, Staffordshire, and Shropshire, they mustered a hundred.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Brighton, Oct. 12, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

Since I have been here I have seen a great deal of Sir Mathew Tierney, who accompanied the King to Ireland, and who is of course pompous of his station, and glad to

communicate all he knows. I am quite astonished to hear the language he holds, so highly favourable to the Catholics, and he does not scruple to say that their demands *must* be granted; that it is *injustice to the King* that they should be withheld; that they are the most loyal and attached subjects he has; and the manner in which they behaved to the King, and he to them, rendered it necessary for the Government to bring forward the measure. Now, as I am convinced he would not hold this language if it were not the one he hears, I leave you to judge of what may be the result of it. I hear, also, from Lady Gwydyr, who is here, that this is the style of Lady Conyngham's language.

The yachts are ordered to be off Calais the beginning of next month, and the King is under engagement to be back by the 9th. I am pretty sure this is true. He goes nowhere; but has written to his sisters, &c., to meet him at Hanover; and Mrs. Fremantle had a letter from the Landgravine of Hesse Homburg, saying she should be there as to-day.

Ever, my dear Lord, most truly yours,

W. H. F.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Oct. 24, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I am just returned here after paying a visit for a day or two to Lord Arran, at Bognor. I did not answer your last because I had nothing to tell you; and now I have only to say, that Lady G. Monk, who is mother to Charles Paget's wife, told me he had orders to be at Calais to receive the King on board on the 4th, and up to this day he has received no counter order; so that, in my opinion, the King will not remain beyond the time he had promised to return.

But I see by the papers he has got a touch of the gout: one can never say to what extent this may go, or whether it is really gout.

While I was at Brighton, or rather the last day I was there, which was Saturday, I met Croker, with whom I had a good deal of conversation. He said the *thing* could not go on as it is; "that all parties were agreed upon that;" and so soon as the King came back, it must be brought to a decision, either for him to strengthen his Government by the admission of your party and Canning, or to change his Government altogether. These were his words. He also said that Ireland was going to the devil, in consequence of Grant's indolence. I said, "Surely he is a Catholic, and that suits our views." His answer was, "Yes, that's true; but he thinks of nothing but devotion; he is a saint, and can and will do no business whatever. The government of Ireland must be changed, or the country will go to the devil." This, I think, corresponds something with Sir M. Tierney's language, but it shows, from such a man as Croker, that the Government is dissatisfied with the state of affairs there, and the suspension of all the Irish Peerage promotions confirms this. I believe every part of your history about the King's intention about the Mastership of the Horse. From a variety of causes I think it is correct; but I believe, at the same time, that a powerful interest is making abroad to lead him to encourage a wife. How far this will be successful must be seen; the attack of the gout is against it.

Ever, my dear Lord, most truly yours,

W. H. F.

RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Square, Oct. 26, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD B——,

My brother came up to town for a day of Exchequer business. He told me that he sees (by a letter of invitation to belong to a new club) that T—— is one of the committee.

I have also received a similar letter of invitation, but neither of us has sent an answer. In conversing together yesterday upon this subject, it occurred to us that if you and your son took some lead in the forming such a new club, and endeavoured to get your friends to belong to it, it might be made, perhaps, a source of some advantage as well as convenience to you. It would not be at all necessary that any exclusive rule should be adopted in the election of the new members; all that would be desirable would be that the leading persons in it should not be those of Brooks's or of White's, and that it should be seen as a sort of neutral ground, in which the violent party leaders on both sides would not be found to predominate. If Lewis and Plunket, and Charles Williams and Fremantle, and some others, would belong to it; and if you and T——, upon consideration, should think the thing practicable and desirable, and would set about it in earnest, perhaps such a shape might be given to it as would appear to you to be worth your while to pursue. At all events, I thought it best to make the suggestion to you. I am too old to go much to clubs, and belong now only to the Literary Club; but if T—— and you think there is any advantage in having my name as belonging to it, pray tell T—— that he is authorised, if he wishes it, to give in my name as a subscriber. Lord G—— told me he would write to you

to offer his name likewise, if it strikes you that the object I allude to is worth pursuing, and if our names are likely to be of any use to you for the purposes above mentioned. Town is thin; few people, and less news; but an increasing report among Sidmouth's friends that he is in too bad health to continue, and that he must resign.

The Radicals, as you see, are all trying to make out a mob case for Sir R. Wilson, but the army, I am told, is well pleased at his dismissal.

Ireland is, from the account of a very intelligent friend of mine, in a worse state than ever; and unless vigorous measures are soon adopted there, no authority will remain in the country.

Yours affectionately,

T. G.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Oct. 29, 1821.

My brother is not here, but I have sent him your letter. It is not easy to advise you on a matter so much depending on feelings into which you alone can thoroughly enter. But, as a mere question of interest and convenience, I should think, on your statement, that delay was advisable.

I got, some time since, a circular notice of a new club, and a proposal to include my name amongst its members. I disregarded it, as I have long done all such offers, having as long ago as when I married, discontinued all attendance on clubs.

But I had another letter some days since, by which I see that T——'s name is on the committee, and this has revived a notion which I had at first, of suggesting to you the very great political advantage which you and Charles might derive from the formation of some new establishment

of this sort, which might relieve those who, with you, might hold a middle course, from the necessity of a society in either of the extremes of Brooks's or White's.

I well remember the very great advantage that Pitt derived from Goosetree's, previously to the time when we took possession of White's. If you like any notion of that sort, and think you can make anything of it, or if it would in any way be at all gratifying to T——, I will most willingly send in my name; if not, I shall decline as before. Pray, therefore, let me know what you wish.

RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Square, Nov. 3, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD B——,

I received last night, with a letter from Dr. O'Connor, the "Mysterious Mother," and I have this morning ordered Coutts to transfer to your account there 5*l.*, which is the price that you have been so good as to pay. There is a general stagnation of all news, though London begins to have a sprinkling of visitors. It is supposed that Lord Liverpool put a final stop to the Paris visit by declaring that no drafts could be answered except for the direct return home; if the 29th has been again changed for the departure, it is probable that it is occasioned only by gout.

I agree with you that there is no possibility of preventing the Opposition from making motions about Sir R—— W—— (as they did in Lord Cobham's case); but the apprehension which I feel is, that Government will not answer as they ought by claiming and asserting the prerogative, but by *evidence* of *facts*, &c. &c., and if they do they will, in my opinion, do an unconquerable evil. A very intelligent field-officer the other day said very truly, in speaking of the subscribers, "what are all these *brown*

coats about? if it is a grievance, it is a grievance to the *army*, and I verily believe that there is not a single officer in it who is disposed to make any other complaint than that the Commander-in-Chief ought to have dismissed him three years ago." The subscription has utterly failed, no names being procurable except the Opposition party names that you have seen.

Yours most affectionately,

T. G.

MR. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Llangedwin, Nov. 5, 1821.

MY DEAR B——,

Another week will, I suppose, bring the King back, and with him intelligence of more interest. Lord Grey and his friends appear to be most kindly exerting themselves to the utmost to defeat Lord C——'s efforts in their favour. It looks as if there was a schism in Opposition on the subject of this subscription, and I am told that several of them hold strong language against it. Government have, I think, fallen into the same mistake which they did in the Manchester business, of keeping back their justification, while they allow their adversaries to preoccupy the ground in public opinion. I know enough of the folly and mischievous disposition of W——, to give them full credit for the sufficiency of their reasons; but in the present temper of the country, and in the absence of all confidence in the Administration, I do not conceive it wise to have acted on those reasons, unless they could be publicly and explicitly, though not perhaps officially, avowed. All that is known is that it has reference to the Queen's funeral, but whether it be for the improper language said to be addressed to the officer on duty, or for

planning and organizing or encouraging the riot, we at a distance do not know. Among the names of the wise men who have subscribed on this occasion, I am most surprised to see that of my old friend the Duke of Somerset: first, because I thought he had computed too often the number of pence, half-pence, and farthings in a hundred pounds to give so much away on any occasion; and secondly, because, if a liberal fit did come across him, I thought he had more sense and moderation than to let his name appear on this. I am very glad not to see N——'s on the list. Have you yet heard the reason of the frost which blighted the Irish Peerages in their bud. Phillimore writes me word that Lord Grenville is very anxious that the Catholic question should be brought forward as early as possible in the next session. While Lord Liverpool and Lord Eldon retain their present offices, I feel convinced that nothing but the active influence of the King (which I think is not likely to be so exerted) can carry the Bill through the Lords, and unless some favourable circumstances should seem to open fresh hopes of their passing it, we shall, I am sure, have great difficulty in procuring the attendance of its friends in the Commons, many of whom feel that they support it at the imminent hazard of their seats, and will highly disapprove of its being so soon agitated again without an increased chance of final success.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Nov. 6, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

You may depend upon it there is no truth whatever in the supposed difference between the chief and his love.

I know it has been said, but the attachment is as strong as ever, and the influence as great. He is expected in the course of a few days, and I have no doubt *still* that the arrangement will take place soon, and that he will not have courage to change his Government. He is to come to the Cottage here for a few days, and it is said is then to go to Brighton. Lord St. Helens is now passing a few days with me, and his language is, the necessity of strengthening the Government, and the impossibility of changing it, and if one could believe him, the impossibility of the latter. I see, however, Lord Lansdowne is just arrived from Paris, and none of his friends or anything but the actual Mountains have subscribed to Wilson.

What a horrid circumstance the death of Lady Elz. Stanhope: she was walking in the garden with Mrs. Arthur Stanhope, and dropped down—never spoke afterwards. They were going the next day to Fawsley.

Ever most truly yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

CHAPTER VI.

[1821.]

THE GOVERNMENT—RUMOURED CHANGES—PROPOSALS—MR. CANNING—NEGOTIATIONS COMMENCED BY THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON FOR THE JUNCTION OF THE GRENVILLES WITH THE MINISTRY—REPORT OF CONVERSATION WITH LORD LIVERPOOL ON THE SUBJECT — PROPOSAL OF THE GOVERNMENT TO RAISE LORD BUCKINGHAM TO A DUKE—MARQUIS WELLESLEY AS LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND—HIS OPINIONS ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION—MR. W. C. PLUNKET ON IRISH AFFAIRS—LORD GRENVILLE ON THE PROPOSED ARRANGEMENTS—NEGOTIATIONS RESPECTING THE CATHOLIC QUESTION—THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS.

CHAPTER VI.

THE King returned from his Continental dominions about the middle of November. On the 16th his Majesty held a Court at Carlton Palace, to receive addresses from the Lord Mayor of London, the Court of Aldermen, and the Common Council. With his return recommenced the usual round of rumours affecting the stability of the Government; but, although there is no doubt it might have claimed the merit of being the best abused one in the world, the principal members of it, at least, held a perfectly secure position. Their conduct, particularly with respect to Sir Robert Wilson, excited Mr. Grenville's severe animadversions.

RIGHT HON. THOS. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Square, Nov. 7, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD B——

Your appropriation of the 5*l.* to the purchase of Strutt's "Engravers" was too late, as I had already paid the money to your account at Coutts's; moreover, that book can only be had by the chance of some sale, and I believe is worth about eight guineas when it is a tolerable good copy; mine, which is large paper, and therefore most commodious for illustrating, cost me sixteen guineas. I see you suppose

me to carry my objections to the apologetic language of the *Courier* to a greater extent than is in my contemplation. Undoubtedly, the abstract right of Parliament to call upon Ministers as responsible for their advice in the exercise of the Royal prerogative, cannot be denied; but the more or less apologetic tone taken by them upon such questions is often of the highest importance. Their wretched fears for themselves—their unworthy submission to insult and indignity of every kind put upon them by the highest as well as the lowest—their abandonment of all that is due to the dignity and authority of the Executive Government, provided they are allowed to continue in the offices of it; all these circumstances have so lowered and degraded the Executive power that it would be difficult, even for a new administration of the most vigorous character, to restore all that is lost; and instead of any present effort to recover it, every day is a day of some new disgrace and indignity, and every topic of debate where Ministers should hold a high tone, and challenge the responsibility of their situations as advisers of the Crown, exhibits them crouching under the feet of the Radicals, and shrinking from the eminence on which they are placed, in the mean endeavour of interposing the authority of Parliament to shelter them from dangers which it is incumbent upon them to meet manfully; and this question of Sir R. W——, if timidly and apologetically met by them as it will be, may prove to be of the most dangerous importance, if it shall teach the officers and the privates of the army to look up to Sir F. B—— and to Sir R. W——, instead of looking up to the military authorities by which the army of a limited monarchy must be governed.

No news of the K—— had arrived yesterday of later date than the 24th, and therefore all sort of reports were

circulated of illness of every description, &c. &c.; but I have no reason to believe these reports have any foundation, as I have seen three or four persons who must, I think, have been informed if there had been any foundation for these strange rumours.

MR. HENRY W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Llanwnda, Nov. 11, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD B——,

I take joy on the King's safe return, and I trust that he will now give himself time to settle something respecting his Administration. If report be true, he was not in the best of humours when he started from Hanover, and this is not likely to have been improved by German schwagers and roads, unless, indeed, he spent the whole of it on his cousin of Hesse Cassel. I fear that there was not time for his Majesty to find a German countess with more patient ears and sounder form than the Marchioness, and till then I cannot conceive that her influence is on the decline, particularly as no quarrel or coldness is likely to have taken place by letter. Her folly and rapacity will sooner or later have their effect.

If Ministers are sincere in their professions to you, they cannot allow any further delay on the part of the King, and a fortnight will show what his determination is.

Ever yours, most affectionately,

H. W. W.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Nov. 16, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I must preach patience to you, and be assured it is no indisposition to you, or intentional affront or slight, that

the thing rests at present as it is. I know that they cannot yet bring the King to any determination, and they are yet firmly resolved to adhere to their decision of resisting the nomination of Lord Conyngham, and of strengthening their Government. You must give them credit for doing the thing eventually, but they are obliged to judge the best manner. He will resist to the last moment, but I am fully persuaded he will and must ultimately give way. You have no right to feel indignant as long as you are not exclusively neglected; and my own opinion is, that Canning will not be recommended without you and your friends. I see he is in town, and sees Lord Liverpool constantly.

The Verulams are here, and have been so some days. Her [Lady V——] language is, that Lord Liverpool will not remain in office if Lord Conyngham is appointed Chamberlain, or if his other arrangements are resisted; and she is loud in her abuse of the King's flirtations with the Opposition.

He is come back disgusted with Germany; but the insults are all denied. He was bored to death at Hanover, and his pretended gout was a bore and a wish to get rid of his subjects. The Verulams are come from Lord Maryborough's, and their language is also his. Again I say that things look just the same towards you as they ever did, and you have the game in your hands. If the Government are foolish enough to try and tide through another session, I perfectly agree with you that your line should be to form a junction with Canning, who will no doubt then feel as indignant as you will do.

The King has seen Lord Wellesley, and I have no doubt is trying to hatch up something through him, but it is quite impossible he can belong to the present Cabinet, and I therefore judge he is looking to a household employment; and there could be no objection to such an arrange-

ment. But this is not the point; the point of the Government is the increase to their strength, and Lady Verulam told me (not knowing that I had heard the same thing from the Duke of W——) that Lord Liverpool, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Londonderry were united and decided on this, and would not meet the Parliament without it. All this, you see, confirms our histories. If, after all, they surrender, one can only say what shabby fellows they are.

As to the Opposition coming in, I don't believe the King will attempt it. Lord Lansdowne is gone out of town; Lord Londonderry is still in favour. The King does not come here, but goes to Brighton. I shall go to town for a day, and whatever I pick up you shall hear; but I earnestly recommend you not to push the thing, or to move one step, or to show your offence, but suffer the whole thing to proceed from themselves, and see the result. You will then stand on much better ground, and have the strongest complaint against the conduct of the Duke of Wellington.

Believe me, ever yours,

W. H. F.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Gorhambury, Nov. 21, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I am just arrived here, and only write three lines to say that the Verulams and all in the House speak of the change of the situations of Ministers as a thing decided, though not yet distinctly known. Canning certainly goes to the Admiralty, as is said, and Melville and Sidmouth move—but how or when is differently stated. You are to be offered Ireland, and I take it for granted, C. Wynn your secretary. They are outrageous with Grant for keeping them in igno-

rance with regard to the state of Ireland. He has been all along saying he wanted no troops, and now he is calling for them at all risks. Lord Sidmouth has positively refused to let a battalion of Guards go, saying he cannot spare another man. For some reason, which I suppose refers to Liverpool politics, Canning's appointment is not instantly brought forward. My wife saw the Duchess of Gloucester yesterday, who told her she had seen the King, who was never in better spirits or health; that he told her he had had an explanation with his Ministers, that all was now arranged, and he was more happy and comfortable than he had been for some time. Lord Cholmondeley has resigned, and Lord Conyngham is Lord Steward; Lord Rocksavage to be called up to the House of Lords.

I have only written the *on dit* which I collect here. Lady Verulam saw her brother, Lord Liverpool, in town on Saturday last, who, she says, was in excellent spirits, and appeared to be much more at his ease and satisfied with the K—— than he had before been. I have no doubt but that the arrangements are settled, and I have none also that you will be sent to. I only hope you will not be fastidious. My principle is to take situation, and my advice would be, to accept Ireland if offered. Be assured it must lead to all you can desire.

If you are not at the Admiralty, remember I would not wish to go there; nothing but acting with you would induce me; — otherwise, either the Treasury or India Board.

W. H. F.

MR. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

I have postponed from day to day, my dear B——, thanking you for your letter, in the expectation of hearing

from you again something more decisive. From this not being the case, I conclude that you have heard nothing more than common reports, and that the King and his Ministers have left town, again postponing any arrangement till January, just as at the opening of last session till Easter, at Easter till the recess, at the recess till the return from Ireland, and then till the return from Hanover. The feebleness and vacillation they continue to show is at least a consolation to those who have not been called upon to embark in the same boat with them. But how can it be possible for that boat, as at present manned, I will not say to weather any breeze, but to swim through the smoothest water? You have seen last year the indisposition of the House to support Vansittart even in the common business of his office, and it cannot be expected that this will be diminished after it is publicly known that they have failed in making any arrangement to strengthen themselves, owing to the want of the King's confidence and support. For myself, if they attempt to go on thus, I decidedly wish their fall, as I do not apprehend any calamity from a Whig administration equal to that of the House of Commons taking into its own hands the executive administration of the country. To this we are every day making rapid progress, and I fear that if we go much further, our return to the practice of the English Constitution will be impracticable, and convulsion ultimately the inevitable consequence. Till Ministers shall again guide, instead of following the House of Commons, I have no hope.

The last report I hear is that the dispute about Canning is to be compromised by his being appointed to succeed Lord Hastings; and I feel little doubt that this would completely satisfy him, though it could only strengthen Ministers inasmuch as it delivers them from the dread of

his turning against them. I should regret anything which takes him from the House of Commons, for though I have no respect for his character, yet he is of great use to check Burdett, Hobhouse, Lambton, &c. &c.

If Ministers admit of Lord Conyngham's appointment to be Lord Steward, it seems as complete a victory to the King as if he were at once made Chamberlain, and will produce a lasting disgust in all the quiet and decent from one end of the country to the other, who have hitherto been the chief supports of Administration. Lord Cholmondeley's promise of the next blue ribbon is not worth much, since he is just as likely to drop as any one of your noble brotherhood.

If one is to believe the newspapers, Lord Londonderry is to go into Norfolk on a shooting-party before Henry could reach town from Askrig. At all events, I have little hope that he will not put him off with the same sort of postponements as he has hitherto used. I quite agree with you that they at present consider us as hackney-coaches bound to remain on the stand whatever the weather may be, till they shall make up their minds to call us; and I hope that you will be disposed to reject any continuation of similar communication to that which they have already made to you, unless it is accompanied with a direct and intelligible proposal.

As things are, I feel no temptation to quit the comforts of my own fireside. When we know the time and complexion of the meeting of Parliament, it may be advisable to discuss further what will then be to be done.

Adieu.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

Several intimations have been given in Mr. Fremantle's letters, of a negotiation on the part of the Ministers for an increase of strength; the following letter brings this more tangibly before the reader, and shows something like earnestness in the intention.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO MR. W. H. FREMANTLE.

Teddesley, Nov. 21, 1821.

MY DEAR FREMANTLE,

The period is now arrived at which Lord Liverpool thinks he can make his arrangements for strengthening his Government, and according to what I stated to Lord Buckingham by his desire last summer, he is very desirous of communicating with him. I don't know where Lord Buckingham is at present; and I think that you had better come to town if not inconvenient to you, and see Lord Liverpool, who wishes to speak to you.

I shall be in town myself on Tuesday evening.

Ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

The long pending arrangement of the junction of Lord Buckingham and his friends with Ministers, was now drawing to a close; a sense of its necessity induced Lord Liverpool to renew the negociation, and Mr. W. H. Fremantle was invited by the Premier to a discussion with him on the subject. The result of the interview is given by him in the following report, and the effect of the official arrangements proposed, will appear in the correspondence which it precedes.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE'S REPORT OF CONVERSATION WITH LORD LIVERPOOL.

He begun by saying, that the situation of the Government at the end of the last session was such that he did not know how far its stability could be depended upon; that a variety of untoward circumstances had arisen which made their situation precarious, and under these impressions he did not feel himself authorized or justified in proposing a connexion with the Government to any person or party at that time. The case was now altered, for he had to say that there was no doubt or question as to the continuance of the Government, and as to the complete confidence and support of the King, and therefore he wished to make known to me, for the information of Lord Buckingham and his friends, what steps the Government were enabled to take with a view of forming a connexion with them.

The great and material point to which the Government looked was strength in the House of Commons, and therefore whatever changes would take place in the Cabinet were to be grounded on this consideration alone. The vacancies that would take place in the Cabinet arose from the retirement of Lord Sidmouth, and by the opening of the Presidentship of the Board of Control. It was intended, in the event of Lord Hastings' return from India, that Mr. Canning should succeed him, but not belong to the Cabinet previous thereto. That Mr. Peel should hold a very prominent situation (which I took for granted meant Lord Sidmouth's office), and that the Board of Control or the Secretaryship of War, with a seat in the Cabinet, could be offered to Mr. Charles Wynn; that knowing Lord Buckingham's and Lord Grenville's anxious wishes for Mr. Henry Wynn,

the appointment to Switzerland was now open to him, and a seat at one of the principal Boards for any friend whom Lord Buckingham might recommend. That it was right to advert to the situation of Ireland, and I must be aware of the confidential communication he had had with Mr. Plunket when he was last in England; that since that time the King had satisfied himself that measures might be pursued which would keep the Catholic question in a state in which neither of the contending parties would preponderate, and that in this spirit of conciliation he had communicated lately with Mr. Plunket, and had reason to think he was satisfied with the views of Government on this subject, and would be disposed to accede to an arrangement which was now in progress for making him Attorney-General of Ireland, retaining his seat in Parliament, and taking an active part in the House of Commons. That in his communications with the King, knowing what had been the object of the late Marquis of Buckingham and of the present, and also the conditional engagement which had been made by the late King of a Dukedom in case any Duke were created, the King had authorized him to tell Lord Buckingham, that although he had not meant to grant that dignity, and did not now mean to create any other person, he was willing to grant the dignity to Lord Buckingham on the present occasion. These were the principal points and engagements held out by Lord Liverpool. In the course of stating them he added a variety of observations, which chiefly rested on the difficulties of an arrangement, but always adverting to his wish to meet the objects of Lord Grenville and Lord Buckingham by bringing forward Mr. Charles Wynn.

Without entering into the state of the country, or of the Government, or the difficulties of the House of Commons,

I said I feared such an arrangement would not be satisfactory to Lord Buckingham; that I knew his object was office; that whatever might be his feelings with regard to a Dukedom, I was quite satisfied he would not connect himself with a Government unless he formed a part of it; that his habits were those of active employment, and by accepting a Dukedom he was placed on the shelf; and therefore, though I should feel it my duty to convey the offer, I thought it right to tell Lord Liverpool what I considered would be the result—namely, that it would not lead to a connexion with the Grenville party. That I thought Lord Buckingham's talents were such as would essentially serve a Government in times like the present, even if his rank, and station, and influence, were out of the question; but without entering into a discussion on these points, I was only expressing my own opinion, but it would be for Lord Liverpool to receive from Lord Buckingham his answer. To these observations, which were short, Lord Liverpool only dwelt on his high opinion of Lord Buckingham, and in the course of further discussion I said that the Admiralty or Ireland were situations suitable to the dignity and to the pretensions of Lord Buckingham. He observed that Lord Talbot had nearly served his time in Ireland; he had been there near four years, but at the present moment there were insurmountable objections to removing him; by which observation it strikes me that he meant to imply that Lord Buckingham could succeed him, but this was never said. After a few more observations immaterial, he asked me when I should communicate with Lord Buckingham; I said I should go to Avington to-morrow, and as he said he was going next week to Bath, he should be happy to receive a communication from Lord Buckingham any day the end of this week, and that if

Lord Buckingham would honour him by an interview, much more could be done, and more explained, than by letter, and he should be happy to see him.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Dec. 2, 1821.

The two facts which your two letters have successively communicated have in the first instance highly delighted, and in the second proportionably dispirited me. Wellesley's appointment I verily believe to be the best that could be made. But what can I say of that of his secretary?—a man who may, for what I know, have virtues and talents of which it never fell in my way to hear a word, but who is known to the public here, and in Ireland, by nothing but the having made in the Catholic debates in the very last year, the most absurd speech and motion that could have come from the lips of Duigenan himself.

If one could laugh on such a subject, and when such interests are at stake, what can exceed the ridicule of thus systematically coupling together a friend and an enemy to toleration, like fat and lean rabbits, or the man and his wife in a Dutch toy, or like fifty other absurdities made to be laughed at, but certainly never before introduced into politics as fixed and fundamental systems for the conduct of the most difficult and dangerous crisis of a country.

What is to result from this disheartening folly? Is Wellesley a man likely to submit, like some of his predecessors, to be made a cypher in his Government? Is Plunket disposed to see the whole detail of daily business, and the whole character and temper of the Secretary's office fall back into the old channels; and that after the nomination of Grant, and his conduct since he went to Ireland, had both been among the principal inducements

to him to look at a situation so far beneath his just pretensions? And what, I might ask, would be Wellesley's own situation between the Secretary at home from whom he receives orders, and the Secretary at Dublin to whom he is to give orders, if I did not believe that with all his failings he possesses a high and independent spirit, which will lead him to assert himself decisively in the very first moment of the counteraction, which is thus studiously and systematically provided to embarrass him in all his operations.

But above all, what a picture does it present of the councils to which you are invited to unite yourself!

I really had, after receiving your first letter, begun to accustom myself to look at the bright side of the question alone, and to indulge soothing visions of honour and happiness to you both in the new course which is opened to you. And I will endeavour, and for my own peace of mind I *must* endeavour, still so to do.

But the decision must rest, where it ought to rest, with yourself and with Charles; and I can have no other sentiment or feeling on the subject, but that which leads me to offer up the most earnest wishes and prayers that it may be such as shall be most honourable and happy to yourselves, and through you to the country.

I have shown this to my brother, who desires me only to add on his part, that Wellesley's nomination had made the same impression on him, as offering a new and most important change in the *face* of the Government, and *that* (as Lord Londonderry would say) in one of its largest *features*; and that this feeling is with him, as with me, more than *neutralized* by a measure to which, forming, as it will do, a part of the new proposed arrangements, you and yours are directly made parties.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO MR. W. H. FREMANTLE.

London, Dec. 3, 1821.

MY DEAR FREMANTLE,

Since I saw you this morning I have learned that Lord Sidmouth is to remain in the Cabinet by the King's particular desire. I have not seen Lord Liverpool, but I conclude that he omitted to mention this from forgetfulness. Indeed, I had myself forgotten that the King had in the discussions of last summer, desired it.

I beg you, however, to recollect that ours is not, nor never has been, a *controversial* Cabinet upon any subject; and that a man more or less of any particular opinion will not have the slightest influence on the decision of any question.

Believe me, ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Richmond, Dec. 3, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I received your kind note just as I was going to dinner. I will not detain your servant longer than to return you my sincere thanks. I will write more fully in the course of the evening, and will take care that you shall receive my letter early to-morrow. In the meantime I beg leave to inform you that I wrote to Lord Grenville as soon as I was authorized to write to any person, and I wrote to your Lordship at the same period of time. In my letter to Lord Grenville I requested an interview previous to my departure, for the purpose of receiving his inestimable advice; at that moment I had no idea of any other object. I could have attended Lord Grenville to-morrow, but I have received the King's commands to wait on him at

Brighton, and I must depart early. On my return I shall be happy to pay my duty at Dropmore or in London, according to Lord Grenville's convenience.

I was very insufficiently informed of the circumstances mentioned by you, and was not aware even of their general tenor until yesterday.

I need not state what my ardent wishes are. The Duke of Wellington did not know of the commands which I had received from Brighton when he spoke of the possibility of my visiting Dropmore to-morrow.

Ever, my dear Lord, yours most faithfully,

WELLESLEY.

THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Richmond, Dec. 3, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

In my short note this evening I stated to your Lordship generally the restraints which precluded my earlier communication with you and Lord Grenville; my desire, expressed to him, of receiving the great benefit of his advice previously to my departure for Ireland; and my earnest and anxious hope that Lord Grenville, your Lordship, and your friends, might concur in acting with the Government which had called me to the administration of the affairs of Ireland.

I was informed a few days ago (but in no distinct statement) that it was probable that your Lordship and Lord Grenville might give your countenance to the Government, and that some of your friends might accept office; but it was not until yesterday that I understood the arrangements for that desirable object to be in any advanced state, and from what I then collected, I had hoped that all difficulties had been removed.

My desire to see Lord Grenville rested entirely on my sense of the advantage of receiving his opinions, which I was satisfied he would impart to me with all the freedom and confidence of long-established friendship, and of mutual esteem and affection; but I should not have presumed, without his express injunction, to suggest any opinion respecting the conduct of his friends or his own in the present crisis. With regard to the settlement of the Roman Catholic grievances, my general opinions are unalterable; but the course to be pursued by the Executive Government in Ireland in the existing state of the law, and in the present condition of that country, must be regulated by practical considerations, in which persons may cordially concur whose sentiments may greatly differ on the great and final question. My view of the present state of affairs in Ireland would lead me to think that an impartial, equitable, and mild administration of the law (of which the alteration cannot be effected or attempted by a Lord Lieutenant), is the only safe course which can now be pursued, and the only channel through which we can ever reach a happy and permanent settlement.

With this view I entertain no apprehension of interruption in my government from the influence mentioned by your Lordship, as the subject of alarm in some most respectable minds. I really do not believe that any person now in high office, or likely to be in high office in either country, would attempt to contravene the liberal and benevolent spirit of the King's gracious and conciliatory admonitions to Ireland; and I trust that, by general consent, the system of government is abolished by which the laws respecting the Catholics were administered in a spirit much more severe than their letter. This is a step towards more substantial improvement, and every step in this

salutary career must advance us still more near the complete attainment of general union and harmony. This is my plan, from which I cannot deviate, and in the execution of which I apprehend no interruption.

I understand from the Government here, and I most ardently hope, that our highly respectable and admirable friend Mr. Plunket is likely to hold a high official station in Ireland, where I shall place the most firm confidence in him, and receive the constant benefit of his council and assistance. This will be a great comfort and strength to me in a situation of great and arduous exertion; where, however, the course to be observed cannot be doubtful, whatever doubt the uncertainty of all human affairs must cast over the prospect of success,

If your Lordship had desired my opinion, I should certainly have declared, that as your junction with the Government cannot fail to be of great advantage to the country, so it could not be injurious to the Catholic cause, which can prosper only by the regular and steady progress of a prudent and temperate system. On this point, however, I repeat that I would not venture to obtrude my weak judgment. I am obliged to attend the King to-morrow, otherwise I should have endeavoured to see your Lordship and Lord Grenville; on my return I hope for that advantage.

Believe me always, my dear Lord,
With true esteem and regard,
Yours most faithfully,
WELLESLEY.

My brother Arthur has mentioned Lieut.-Col. Fremantle to me with great regard. I shall be very happy, if it should be in my power, to promote his wishes; but, in the very extended state of my old engagements, I cannot make any decision before my arrival in Ireland.

MR. W. C. PLUNKET TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dublin, Dec. 3, 1821.

My Lord,

The mails have arrived here after a continuance of eight or nine days of storm, and I have just received your Lordship's letter of the 30th. I hasten to acknowledge it, and to express the strong sense I entertain of your Lordship's kindness and confidence. When I was in town last March, I took the liberty of asking Lord Grenville's advice, with reference to an overture which had been made to me on the part of his Majesty's Ministers, and on which I had declined to act, until I should have the opportunity of learning his sentiments; finding that he had formed a decided (and I must say most unfortunate) resolution not to become a member of administration, but knowing, at the same time, how entirely his views and opinions on the state of public affairs coincided with those of the Government, I felt disposed to accede to the proposal which had been made, of resuming my former office of Attorney-General in Ireland. Your Lordship was not then in town, or I should certainly have availed myself of your confidence and friendly interest in my affairs, and have asked the benefit of your advice. Lord Grenville agreed with me that there was *no possible objection to the proposed arrangement*; at the same time he suggested the propriety of holding myself free as to the time and mode of dealing with the Roman Catholic question.

The business has hung over from that time to the present, and though the measure was understood, nothing effectual has been done towards its accomplishment till within this few days. On the subject of the Roman Catholics, or as to the policy to be pursued respecting the bringing forward this question, I never have given, or in-

deed formed, any definite opinion, and with respect to it I hold myself just in the same situation as if I were to remain utterly unconnected with Administration. It appears to me that great advantages may be derived to that cause from the introduction of its known and steady friends to some share in his Majesty's counsels, and I own I should grieve if any circumstance was to withhold your Lordship's services, and those of some of your near friends, at this critical period.

That the Roman Catholic question cannot, for any great length of time, be kept back, appears to me evident; but it seems equally clear that there is great occasion for caution, and much room for accommodation, as to the time of bringing it forward; nothing could be more injurious than the risking the loss of the vantage ground which we have taken possession of during the last session; and one cannot but apprehend that such might be the consequence of bringing the measure forward, without some better prospect of good sense and good temper on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy, than they displayed on the late occasion. Of some improvement in that quarter I am led to entertain hopes, as well as on the part of those of the laity who were least manageable. All these are arguments for delay; at the same time, this should be entirely kept open for discretion, and above all, should not be liable to be considered as the result of contract or stipulation, especially with any portion of the Government, which would unavoidably tend to throw the Roman Catholic body into dangerous hands. Under these circumstances, and reserving this perfect freedom, I am quite disposed to attend in Parliament, and render whatever services I can to the general measures of Administration.

I write to your Lordship, as you desire it, fully, my

opinions on a subject, when I should be much more disposed to ask yours, were I on the spot or the time admitted it. Will you have the goodness to communicate what I write to Mr. Wynn, and to him only. I trust I shall soon learn that the public cause has been strengthened by your Lordship's accession, and by his.

We are in a state of extreme agitation and disturbance here; the accounts are much exaggerated, however, *as I believe*, for I have not had the honour of the slightest communication from any person connected with the Irish Government. The state of this country, whilst it furnishes the fullest proof of the necessity of disposing of the question to which I have adverted, does not, perhaps, afford strong encouragement for bringing it forward just at present; but on this and all other matters connected with it, I shall look with great anxiety to learn the opinion of Lord Grenville.

I beg your Lordship to believe how sensible I am of the honour you do me by consulting me on the present occasion, and that I am with great truth and regard always my Lord,

Your Lordship's much obliged
And very faithful humble servant,
W. C. PLUNKET.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Dec. 4, 1821.

We have had a full talk with Charles, and have laid before him the good and the bad, as far as I can judge of it. His decision and yours (not ours) must ultimately regulate your conduct.

I have strongly recommended to him to see Lord Liverpool and Lord Londonderry, and also Lord Wellesley, who

has written to me in very kind terms to announce his appointment, and to whom I write to offer to go to Richmond to see him, if it is inconvenient to him to come here. I hope you and Charles will endeavour to learn from him the plain English of this metaphor about balances, and what it is that he understands himself to be sent to Ireland to do.

It is a bad feature of this business, that every day presents some new difficulty not previously announced to you.

The *Courier* now informs us,—1, That Lord Sidmouth is to continue of the Cabinet; and 2, That Canning is *not* to go to India; or, in other words, that Charles is to go alone into the Cabinet at the very moment that is studiously chosen for making it *more* orange in its complexion *than it was before;* and secondly, that what is called *strengthening* Government in the House of Commons consists in driving Canning into opposition, who was before the best speaker on the Government side, and having Peel in Government, who was before a speaker also on their side.

I wish I could say *I* approved all these things, because I see *you* wish it; but I must speak the truth or hold my tongue, and my affection to you both makes me very reluctant to do the latter, though for your sake I have certainly expressed myself much less strongly to Charles on some of these points than I should otherwise have done.

As for saying of each of these things separately, that there are personal objections to A—— and B—— and C——, and that they are each and all of them individuals of too little consequence for you to hang your decisions upon, of what does a discussion of this nature consist, except first, of measures, the explanation of the most im-

portant of which is now wrapped up in metaphorical ambiguity; and secondly, of the men who are to execute them; and if these really are severally as insignificant as you deem them, what better argument can be found against putting them or keeping them in the first ranks of a new arrangement, the professed object of which is to supply strength which was confessed to be wanting?

But I have done, and have only as before most earnestly to wish that you may do what is best, whether I am able ultimately to think it so or not.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Dec. 5, 1821.

I return you Wellesley's letter, with which I am much pleased. I wish I could say the same of the other parts of the business; but I am old-fashioned enough to be thoroughly scandalized at the want of the common forms of civility and respect so singularly shown in Lord L——'s sending up for Charles from Wales to receive a proposal of coming into the Cabinet, and in the interim taking himself off to Bath, and leaving behind him not even a letter, but a *message* that he is not to be back till near the meeting of Parliament.

Of the substance of the matters now depending, I have nothing more to add; but do not take it ill if an old man tells you plainly that if you do not on such an occasion so express and conduct yourself as to ensure the attention and respect which is due to you, it will be in vain to attempt to claim it afterwards, and that if you abandon it, you give up with it the hope of being really useful.

I have known many such discussions, some ending well, others ill. But I never yet witnessed one in which such arrangements were (as in this case) presented *crudely*, to

be accepted or refused, without any previous discussion as to the mode of shaping them, or any facility offered, or even intimated, for softening down such difficulties as such proposals are always more or less attended with.

I must say there appears to be, with respect to both of you, a total misunderstanding of your real rank and station in the country, and in its public estimation.

Do not think that I wish your acceptance or refusal to be influenced by feelings of temper or personal offence. Far from it. The question involves much higher considerations, both public and private; but what I do most earnestly wish is that you should maintain your own dignity against aggressions which are never neglected without leading to future inconvenience, but least of all in such cases as these.

The negotiation, like various others that had preceded it, had obstacles to surmount. One of the most active members of the party invited to strengthen the Government insisted upon an understanding on certain great political questions, on which a perfect Ministerial understanding had more than once before been extremely difficult to establish. The letters sent and received will speak for themselves.

MR. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall, Dec. 13, 1821.

MY DEAR B——,

The post has brought me no letter from Lord Liverpool. Perhaps the reservation in writing of my right to originate any measure which may appear to me desirable for the amelioration of the state of Ireland, either in Parliament or in Council, and of declaring that as the hope of contributing to that object is my principal inducement to accept office, so I should not hesitate at any time to relinquish it, if that would more effectually assist the object; and also of stating that Goulburn's appointment could not have had my concurrence—which are the three points insisted on in my letter—may, though agreed to by Lord Londonderry most readily, be of more difficult digestion to the Earl, particularly if, as begins to be reported, there is at the same time some hitch on the part of Peel, and that the Earl may find himself somewhat embarrassed between conflicting reservations. Still, I do not myself think that it is possible for him now to go back, as he is too deeply committed. Henry is to be in town to-night, which I am glad of, for, as Lord Londonderry goes a-shooting into Norfolk on Saturday, to-morrow will be his only opportunity of seeing him. I wish much, if Liverpool's answer is affirmative, to press forward the appointment as much as I can, in order that I may have the more time to work quietly at learning the business of the Board before I am called up to town to attend the Councils before the meeting of Parliament.

Upon sending to the Foreign Office, I find that Lord Londonderry is not expected there till to-morrow. Whatever Liverpool's answer is, it will be desirable that I should

see Londonderry; and if it is in the affirmative, I should also wish to see Courtenay to learn the state of the office.

One o'clock, P.M.

Liverpool's answer has just arrived by a messenger, accepting all my scruples and reservations most amply. I enclose to you copies of both letters. I must see Henry to-night, and Lord Londonderry to-morrow, but will come down to you afterwards—if I can, in the evening; but I think that hardly can be done, and therefore I will say next morning, by the earliest coach, if you will send some conveyance to meet me. I think that there can be no reason for your delaying to send your letter to the King. I am inclined to think that both for the general interests of the Government and my own convenience, it would be far better that it should be at once distinctly understood that Plunket's appointment should take place before the meeting of Parliament, which you will find is eight weeks hence, so that his writ may be moved the first day, and his assistance secured at the earliest possible moment in Parliament; and that the other arrangements should not wait for his.

Liverpool's letter is, I think, a weak one, particularly on the subject of the appointment of Goulburn. I will write a few lines of acknowledgment to him, informing him that I have transmitted his letter to you, and expressing satisfaction in his explanation. If you like to write a letter of acceptance before I come down, I think there can be no objection; but probably you will think that we had better talk over the other arrangements before you write to him upon them. I wish I could come down to-morrow; but I really feel anxiety to see both Londonderry and Courtenay before I leave town, as I think it probable they may both be absent next week.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

I have written a line to inform Wellesley of our acceptance, in the event of no difficulty arising on your part, and desiring to be allowed to see him, in order to communicate to him my letter to Liverpool.

MR. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

Dropmore, Dec. 11, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

Although I understood from Lord Londonderry that he had fully detailed to your Lordship the conversations which have passed between us, and stated the difficulties which pressed upon my mind respecting the flattering proposal conveyed to me through Lord Buckingham, I feel it due to your Lordship, both as the head of his Majesty's Government and also one of those members of it from whom I differ on the Catholic question, that before any final determination be taken I should explain without reserve the feelings and opinions by which my conduct must be actuated in the event of my acceding to the proposed arrangement.

Regretting, as I do, the difference of sentiment to which I have already adverted, I must premise distinctly, and in terms which cannot be misunderstood, that it would be impossible for me to form a part of any Government without reserving to myself, in the most ample manner, the full liberty not only of supporting and advocating, but of originating, either in Parliament or in Council, any proposition which may appear to me desirable to promote the amelioration of the general state of Ireland; and it is scarcely necessary for me to add, that in my judgment concession to the Catholics is a primary step towards the accomplishment of this inestimable object. It would be moreover essential that I should not only possess, but also,

at my own discretion, avow the perfect liberty of speaking and acting, which I retain on this subject; and it is probable that I might feel myself called upon to declare publicly that as the hope of contributing to the success of this measure had been my principal inducement to accept of office, so I should not hesitate one moment to relinquish it from the time of my being convinced that this purpose might be more effectually assisted by my resignation. The circumstance which mainly encouraged me to act upon this hope is the intended appointment of Lord Wellesley and Mr. Plunket. This appears to hold out to Ireland in general the fairest prospect of a firm, impartial, and conciliatory Administration, while their known sentiments with regard to the Catholics in particular will, I trust, excite in that great body of his Majesty's subjects, a confidence from which the most beneficial results may be expected. These nominations are, however, accompanied by that of another gentleman as Chief Secretary, whose opinions are known to be directly at variance with those of Lord Wellesley and Mr. Plunket on this most momentous subject. To Mr. Goulburn's merits and general character every man must do justice who has observed his conduct in the department which he has hitherto filled, but I am so deeply impressed with the inconvenience and irritation which may arise from the apprehension in the public mind of counteraction and opposition between the Lord Lieutenant and his Secretary at a period of so much disturbance as the present, that if this should be made the subject of Parliamentary discussion, I may, besides referring to my not having participated in his Majesty's councils when the appointment took place, find it necessary to declare that it is one in which I could not have concurred. Lord Londonderry has already, I have no doubt, fully stated to your Lordship the various

discussions which have taken place on public measures in my conversations with him; but the points I have adverted to in this letter are of such paramount importance that I am sure you will agree with me in thinking them fit to be the subject of a direct and specific communication to your Lordship. Upon these points, therefore, as upon that of the confident expectation which I collected from Lord Londonderry of Lord Wellesley's and Mr. Plunket's appointments being both completed before the meeting of Parliament, I shall hope to hear from your Lordship as soon as is consistent with your convenience.

I have the honour to be my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful and obedient servant,

C. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL TO MR. CHARLES W. WYNN.

Bath, Dec. 12, 1821.

MY DEAR SIR,

I was prepared by Lord Londonderry for the letter which I have received from you this morning, and he has, of course, communicated to me the substance of the conversations which he has had with the Marquis of Buckingham and yourself since my departure from London.

Agreeing, as I have every reason to hope we now do, in all the other leading principles of Government, foreign and domestic, the difference of opinion which unfortunately exists between us on what is called the Roman Catholic question must be a matter of sincere regret to me.

You will do me the justice, however, to believe that this difference can only be founded on an opinion that the beneficial consequences supposed by yourself and others to be likely to follow the proposed alteration of our laws on this subject, would not in fact result from it. But I think

it material further to add, that whether I may or may not be mistaken, I am fully persuaded that in the state in which that question now is, and under all the circumstances of the country, fewer public evils are likely to arise from the adoption or rejection of the Catholic claims under a Government of a mixed character, than might occur under one which for brevity I designate as exclusively Protestant or exclusively Catholic.

With a knowledge of the sentiments entertained by you and by those immediately connected with you on this question, I could never have ventured to have asked the King's permission to be the bearer of the proposition which has been made to you, unless I had been prepared to have it distinctly understood that you would be at full liberty to support, to advocate, and even to originate, if you should deem it necessary, any measure of which the removal of the disabilities of the Roman Catholics might form a part, or the whole; and you can certainly not be precluded from adopting hereafter any line of conduct which, in the discharge of your public duty, a consideration of what is due to this question, combined of course with what is due to other great national interests, may appear to you to require.

I trust that the explanation will prove satisfactory to you, and I have only to say, with respect to the appointment of Mr. Goulburn, that upon the principle upon which the Government is acting I can never consider the opinion of any individual, whether in support or in opposition to the Roman Catholic claims, to be in itself a bar to his appointment to office in Ireland, provided he is in all other respects duly qualified, it being understood that the existing laws, whatever they may be, are to be equally administered with respect to all classes of his Majesty's

subjects, and that the Roman Catholics are in any case to enjoy their fair share of the privileges and advantages to which they are by law entitled.

With respect to the appointments of Lord Wellesley and Mr. Plunket, the appointment of the former has already taken place, and he will leave London for Ireland as soon as his private arrangements can be made.

Lord Wellesley will have instructions to take measures for carrying into immediate effect the intentions respecting Mr. Plunket. In the mode of accomplishing this most necessary and important object, some consideration ought and must be had for the feelings of the gentleman now in office; but in order to obviate any eventual embarrassment on this head, I can have no objection to the other arrangements being suspended until Mr. Plunket's appointment is effectually secured.

I cannot conclude without assuring you of the cordiality of my feelings towards you, and without expressing the sincere pleasure and satisfaction which I shall have in an official connexion with yourself and your friends.

Believe me to be, with sincere regard,

My dear Sir,

Your very faithful humble servant,

LIVERPOOL.

DR. PHILLIMORE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall, Dec. 13, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

Since I had the pleasure of seeing your Lordship I have been assured, upon information on which I think I can rely, that I may perfectly well hold one of the Commissionerships of the Board of Control and continue the exercise of my profession; if this be so, and you see no

objection, it really seems to me that if they refuse to turn out the King's Advocate, it would be most desirable that you should press my going with Wynn to the Board of Control, upon an understanding that, on the death of Lord Stowell, I should succeed him as Judge of the Admiralty. I will enclose a memorandum containing the statement. It is very natural that Wynn should take some person with him in the capacity of a Commissioner, and we know that Sturges Bourne has made a vacancy there; it must, however, be understood that I am not to be a Privy Councillor, as that would prevent me from arguing causes before the Privy Council.

Wynn has as yet received no answer from his letter to Lord Liverpool, which is rather singular. The idea is very general that Canning will not go to India.

Believe me,

Yours gratefully and sincerely,

JOSEPH PHILLIMORE.

Since writing the above I have been summoned to a *Cabinet at next door* on the arrival of Lord Liverpool's despatch, which, of course, you will receive by this post.

Memorandum for the Marquis of Buckingham.

King's Advocate, if an arrangement can be made for the removal of the present King's Advocate, which, from his unfitness for his situation, would be a desirable arrangement for Government;

Or,

The promise of being Judge of the Admiralty, whenever Lord Stowell shall make a vacancy, and in the meantime to go with Wynn as one of the Commissioners (with a salary) to the Board of Control, if the duties of that

office should not conflict (as I am assured they would not) with the exercise of my profession.

THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Bath, Dec. 16, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have this morning received the favour of your letter, and I derive sincere pleasure from the satisfactory conclusion of the communications that have passed between us. I can assure you that I look forward to the connexion which has now been formed, as one that is likely to be highly advantageous to the public service, as well as truly gratifying to my personal feelings.

There can be no objection to your putting yourself in communication with the Secretary of State for the Home Department respecting your title, and the time is now come when you may properly write to the King to acknowledge his Majesty's gracious intentions.

I feel with you all the importance of the whole arrangement taking place as nearly as possible at the same time, and if I wish for a short delay, it is because I am convinced that Lord Wellesley and Mr. Goulburn will find great facilities in carrying the point respecting Mr. Plunket, from being able to say that the general arrangement is suspended till it can be brought to a conclusion.

Mr. Goulburn is now with me, and proceeds to Ireland to-morrow; Lord Wellesley will leave London, I understand, on Wednesday, and I am to see him here on his way. I will certainly recommend to the King to make Mr. Fremantle a Privy Councillor; I shall be most happy if it is in my power to open a seat at the Board of Treasury for him. I feel he would be of great personal use to me at

that Board; but I cannot be confident as to my success in this respect until after my return to town.

Believe me to be, with great truth,

My dear Lord,

Yery faithfully yours,

LIVERPOOL.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Strathfieldsaye, Dec. 16, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD BUCKINGHAM,

I have received a letter from Lord Londonderry which gives me reason to hope that your discussions with the Government have been brought to a conclusion to your satisfaction. I cannot express to you the gratification which this circumstance affords me; and most particularly [when] I think that I have been, in some degree, instrumental in bringing about an arrangement which is, I trust, as agreeable to you as I am sure it is beneficial to the country. I could not avoid writing these few lines to congratulate you; and I beg you to believe me,

Ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Dec. 20, 1821.

I think you are certainly right in what you propose to do as to your own title. I am not herald enough to see any difficulty in your son's being *commonly called* Earl Temple, as at present; and I should vehemently suspect that any difficulties arising on that head at the College, have nothing else in view than the payment of a third set of fees.

If, however, you give way to them, I should incline to

recommend your taking the Marquisate of *Temple*. I wish I were not in the way as to that of Grenville; and should you and he prefer that, most undoubtedly I could have no claim to object to it; but I could not recommend it, because he as well as I should then experience, to a much greater degree, the inconvenience which already results from the confusion of Granville and Grenville.

I return Lord Liverpool's letter, which is very handsomely expressed.

I know nothing of French politics, and care as little as possible. I am sick of reading two or three columns about them every day in our English papers. I cannot much praise the wisdom of letting the Ministerial papers here open a battery against the existing Ministry (be it what it may) in France.

You must be aware of the case of the Earl of Euston, and others similar to it. After all, I see no reason against his being called Marquis of *Chandos*, if you find it necessary to take another Marquisate, though I know no instance of the son's being called by the *same title* as that which his father has in a higher rank; but it does not occur to me why it should not be so.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Dec. 19, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I am much obliged to you for your communication about the Treasury. I should certainly prefer acting under Lord Liverpool, for whom I entertain the highest personal respect and the warmest feeling, to a seat in the Board of Control; and I feel, moreover, that I could be of more use in the one than in the other. I am also much gratified by the intention of recommending me for the Privy Council, but

I would by no means wish for such a distinction unless I held one of the offices to which I have alluded, and which were distinctly named to me by Lord Liverpool as open to your nomination.

I won't worry you on my concerns more, knowing how much discussion this whole subject has created.

Ever truly yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Dec. 21, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I never for one moment doubted your kindness and friendship towards me, which I have always felt, and on this occasion I was sure you would keep Lord Liverpool to his engagement; but in looking at his letter you will see that it is very vague, though probably he did not mean it to be so, and I wished you to be aware of this in time. I am quite sensible to your particular attention to my extra object of Privy Council, which I was so anxious for you to press because it was not stipulated. I am quite sure it will all end right, and whether it is Treasury or Control I care little, but on the grounds which I think would be most advantageous to you.

From what I hear, the blow is felt by Opposition. They are very sore at the connexion you have formed, and endeavour to hold out that the Government is not strengthened by it. There can be no doubt of its increased strength, provided the whole of Canning's party, with him at the head, do not form a junction with Lord Lansdowne; and this seems impossible, for some time to come at least. Indeed, those most connected with him still hold out that he is to go to India, though not immediately. I was not aware till

a day or two ago that he was to have a Peerage previous to his return, but not on his assuming the Government.

Ever truly yours,

W. H. F.

LORD GLASTONBURY TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Conduit Street, Dec. 21, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

Nothing can be more honourable than the arrangements lately proposed to you by Lord Liverpool, or more dignified and consistent than your acceptance of them on your own part and on that of your friends', whether considered in a public or private point of view. I am most thankful to you for the communication of them, and I feel most sensibly the very flattering and affectionate terms in which you convey it. I share, believe me, most warmly in the pride and exultation which yourself and every part of your family must feel on your advancement to the highest rank in the Peerage. This was the object of your good father through the whole course of his life (who *justly* considered it as the most *substantial* proof of Royal favour which could be given), as it has been of yours; and you have now the gratification of obtaining it thus speedily, and (as it must be universally allowed) without any dereliction of principle or submission whatsoever. On the contrary, you have asserted your right to maintain all your old opinions, and to adhere to them in spite of all possible contingencies: nothing more could be required by you, and your satisfaction must be complete. I must likewise observe on your Dukedom (and I feel a pride in making the observation), that you are to be called to it without a companion, which adds considerably to the distinction. This great boon, therefore, is conferred on you with every circumstance which

must make the acquisition complete, and, in any point of view, it is of higher value as it brings no responsible situation in the Cabinet or elsewhere with it. This would have appeared to me a sad drawback in times like the present, which I may say, without meaning to convey any censure on the Government, are truly alarming. But your mind may [be], and probably is, of a more ardent cast; and difficulties and dangers may be to you additional recommendations. However, my grey hairs do not dispose me to thrust my hand, like the old Roman, into a flaming fire; but better days may follow, and the sun may again shine upon us, when such situations may be more desirable, and will be attainable.

The Catholic question is the only point on which you differ with any part of the King's Ministers, and on this point there has been always a difference among themselves. I sincerely wish that the new arrangements may bring this question to a happy conclusion, which seems now more indispensably necessary than ever to the public safety. But this is the only part of the change which I do not quite approve. The appointment of Lord Wellesley is excellent, provided he still retains sufficient bodily strength, and the energies of his mind are such as they were several years ago in India; but I think that I see a sort of *compromise in the appointment* of the Lord Lieutenant and his Secretary, who are thought to come from different schools and to hold different doctrines. This compromise has been already fatal, and we are now tasting its fruits. The times will no longer bear such a line of conduct. I therefore sincerely hope that the public suspicions on this subject are unfounded.

My brother desires to join me in every sentiment which I have expressed personal to yourself. We both desire to

be personally remembered to Lady B——, and I remain, my dear Lord, with the sincerest esteem,

Ever affectionately yours,

GLASTONBURY.

MR. HENRY W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

St. James's Square, March 28, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD B——,

I saw Lord Castlereagh this morning, and am happy to say that his reception of me was as favourable as I could have wished. He began by a great deal of palaver about the obligation the Government were under to *my* family, and that he conceived I had an undoubted claim upon them. At the same time he said that he was not enabled to make any communication to me, but that he trusted soon to have it in his power. When I told him that I was going abroad for six weeks, he desired me to call on him on my return, and that he did not doubt he should then be able to give me a decisive answer. I consider this as almost tantamount to a promise, and that I have very nearly obtained the object I have so long had in view. This I owe entirely to you, and the most difficult task I have now to perform is to express to you one half the obligation I feel for your kindness. You will, I am sure, consider yourself as repaid by the happiness you have procured to me and mine.

Ever your affectionate and obliged,

H. W. W.

Watkin has just brought in from the House of Commons the account of the game being quite up with the Neapolitans.

MR. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Llangedwin, Christmas Day.

MY DEAR B——,

On Saturday I slept at Dropmore, in my way down here, and my visit was well timed, as I just met Lord Wellesley, and had a great deal of conversation with him. He was in high spirits, and very entertaining, narrating his past victories over Indian cabals, and anticipating his future ones over Irish. I cannot say that the King's Lieutenant (as he took care more than once in conversation to style himself) was received without that ceremony. On the contrary, Mr. Dodsworth was Lord Chamberlain for the occasion, to show him his room before dinner, and he found his own way into the gallery afterwards, and had nobody even to carry up his candlestick to bed.

In and about his carriage were five servants, among whom were two young *gentlemen* between eighteen and nineteen, who, by the housemaid's report, made his bed. (I should have thought one would have been sufficient to make or unmake it.) Lady Grenville was cruel enough not to repeat this to me till he was gone, so that I had no sight of them.

He told me that he understood Downes made no objection to retiring, and therefore he anticipated no difficulty or delay in Plunket's appointment, as Saurin would not have the power to stop it, and would only have to choose between promotion to the Chief-Justiceship and dismission from the Attorney-Generalship. The latter is reported to be troubled with scruples of conscience, not only from his want of experience in criminal law, but objections to passing sentence of *death*. Now, since as Attorney-General he must have swallowed these sufficiently to direct capital prosecutions, I have myself little appre-

hension of their choking him when he is to pass sentence, or even if his office required him to execute it. Lord Wellesley talked to me a good deal about Canning, and expressed his belief that he really wished to go to India. If that is the case, there can be no doubt, that whether he delays two or three months on account of Lord Hastings or not, that it will end in his going. He treated the reports of disturbance in Dublin as quite ridiculous, and told us that they rested only on the depositions of Patrick Maloney, a discharged serjeant, who tells of a meeting of 1700 men at night under Carlton wall, who were seen by nobody else but Terence O'Tregan, who is to come forward hereafter, but at present is confined at home, having caught a *could* in his head, and so keeping house.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Dec. 27, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

Nothing can be more satisfactory or conclusive than Lord Liverpool's letter, which fully confirms your interpretation. I am perfectly satisfied, and shall wait with great patience and pleasure his convenience.

I believe there is something in the change of Bloomfield. I have heard it from a variety of quarters, but I doubt its being put into execution, as there must be so much in the power of the individual, from long habits and confidences. At present it is clearly not so, for only yesterday I received a note from him, *under the King's authority*, requesting me to learn from Charles Wynn for a certainty whether he could place at the disposal of his Majesty a writership for the year 1821, for a young man whom he was anxious to send out to India. I have enclosed the note to Wynn. A pretty good and modest demand, even before he is in office,

or knows what his patronage may be; and why it was to be conveyed through me, I know not.

When this letter will reach you, I have not a guess. The floods have stopped up all communication with London. There are not less than twenty stages now at rest in Egham, and the water still rising. The sheep, oxen, &c., all removed, and no provision for this additional population. I see by the papers it is much the same in your Northamptonshire neighbourhood. When do you expect your patent will be ready?

Ever most truly yours,

W. H. F.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Dec. 30, 1821.

MY DEAR LORD,

I heard yesterday the particulars regarding Canning, which I believe to be true, and accounts about the trouble of a letter, &c., which you had heard.

About a year and a half since, Lord Hastings wrote to Sir John Doyle a private letter, in which he complained bitterly of the conduct of the Board of Directors, saying as he had lost their confidence, he should remain in India no longer. Doyle showed this letter, and had authority from the Directors to say that so far from Lord Hastings having lost their confidence, they entertained the highest opinion of him, and should be extremely sorry if he returned. In answer to this, Lord Hastings writes to Doyle to say he is glad to find the Directors are satisfied with his conduct, but that he should return to England, as he found his health and spirits give way, and he was anxious to return. Upon the strength of this letter the Ministers thought proper to act, and notified their intention of naming Canning for his

successor, transmitting the letter of Lord Hastings to Sir John Doyle to the Court of Directors as their grounds for appointing him a successor. The Court return the letter, saying they could not receive a private letter to a private friend as a ground for such an appointment, and on this objection it was decided to write to Lord Hastings to know decidedly his wishes on the subject of return. This letter was prepared by the Court of Directors, and ended in leaving it entirely at his option to remain or come home; and being sent to the Board of Control for approbation, B. Bathurst scratched out the latter paragraph, and left it with the intention of naming him a successor, in compliance with the wish expressed by him to Sir John Doyle. This letter went the 15th of last month, so that no answer can be had for ten months to come; and I have no doubt Canning will wait till that time under an assurance of supporting Government, unless anything turns up in the meantime to make it worth his while to take another position.

I hear from many hands the Opposition are violent with us; and there does not seem to be two opinions as to the liberal and handsome terms which have been made with you; indeed, I may fairly say to you that Wynn's appointment is considered much beyond his pretensions.—The King is living very retired; literally no one at the Pavilion but the Conynghams and two or three of the household. One of the grounds for believing in Bloomfield's disgrace is that Lady Bloomfield is not there, being the first time she has ever been absent from a party of this sort. I am very glad to hear the Christmas quarter in the Revenue has kept up very well, and I understand Vansittart talks of having a surplus of seven millions this year. Such a result would very much lighten our labours

in the session. They are going to make a new Board for the preventive service against smuggling, Sir Henry Hotham to be the chief, and two other commissioners, Boyle and the officer now employed, whose name I believe is Shortland. This will necessarily create a new Board of Admiralty by the vacancy occasioned by Sir H. Hotham and Warrender, who wishes to retire. I heard the new navy lord, but I can't just now recollect who it was. I have never heard who comes in the room of Warrender.

Ever sincerely yours,

W. H. F.

CHAPTER VII.

[1822.]

CHANGES IN THE GOVERNMENT—LORD ELDON'S DISSATISFACTION—MR. CHARLES WILLIAMS WYNN APPOINTED PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF CONTROL—OTHER MINISTERIAL ARRANGEMENTS—THE KING'S SPEECH—TROUBLES IN IRELAND—THREATENED ATTACK IN PARLIAMENT ON MR. HENRY WILLIAMS WYNN—LORD GRENVILLE ON THE FINANCES OF THE COUNTRY—DEAN BUCKLAND—DISCONTENT OF THE COUNTRY GENTLEMEN—THREATENED DISSOLUTION OF THE GOVERNMENT—DISMISSAL OF SIR BENJAMIN BLOOMFIELD.

CHAPTER VII.

THE long negotiated arrangement of the Government for an accession of political and official strength was made known to the public by an announcement in the *Gazette* of the 12th of January, that the King had directed letters patent to be issued, granting to the Marquis of Buckingham the titles of Marquis of Chandos and Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. On the 17th the King held a Court at Carlton House, when the Right Hon. Charles Williams Wynn kissed hands on receiving the appointment of President of the Board of Control, and on the following day he attended at a Cabinet Council. A little later Dr. Phillimore and Mr. W. H. Fremantle were joined with him at the Board, and Mr. Henry Williams Wynn received a diplomatic appointment to the Swiss Cantons. The Cabinet was further strengthened by having the Right Hon. Robert Peel in place of Lord Sidmouth, who resigned the post of Secretary of State for the Home Department.

After recording these changes, a modern historian adds: "This coalition gained Ministers a few votes in the House of Commons, but it was of

more importance as indicating—as changes in the Cabinet generally do—the commencement of a change in the system of government. The admission of even a single Whig into the Cabinet indicated the increasing weight of that party in the country, and, as they were favourable to the Catholic claims, it was an important change."[1]

The biographer of Lord Eldon implies that this accession of strength was regarded with much dissatisfaction by a certain portion of the Government, of which the Lord Chancellor may be considered the representative, and acknowledges they were of opinion that the honours and advantages conferred on the new recruits would have been better bestowed on themselves. An extract of a letter, dated January 14th, from the learned Lord to Lady F. J. Bankes, supports his views: "This coalition," he writes, "I think will have consequences very different from those expected by the members of Administration who have brought it about. I hate coalitions."[2] The Lord Chancellor was in truth very much put out of temper by an arrangement in which he had not been consulted, and revenged himself by circulating all the jokes (harmless enough) he could hear or invent, at the expense of his new colleagues.

There is no doubt that this junction firmly esta-

[1] Alison's "History of Europe," vol. ii. p. 489.
[2] Twiss's "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 61.

blished the Government in their position. If only a moiety of the rumours that had long been circulated affecting their stability was true, they were in an unenviable state. The King's dissatisfaction had been confidently reported, and changes threatened of a very sweeping character; but, though his Majesty had no doubt been greatly irritated by the result of the Queen's trial, the unexpected removal of the cause of irritation, and the agreeable impression created by his Irish and German tours, caused a sensible reaction in favour of his long-tried servants, and he only permitted the removal of one—replaced by a younger and more active statesman, who had already acquired high political eminence. How these changes affected the parties most interested in them, will be found fully detailed in their correspondence.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Bagshot Park, Jan. 11, 1822.

My dear Lord,

Most sincerely and truly do I congratulate you on your creation, which, thank God, closes an event so many years looked for, and anxiously desired by your good father and yourself; I did not flatter myself with the hopes of living to see it take place, and more so, from the honour conferred upon you two years ago. The addition of the entail of the Earldom in the female line, is a mark of most singular and partial favour altogether. It is as much as any subject of the empire could acquire, and bestowed on

one whose family and himself have been unconnected with the Government, and generally opposing it for the last fifteen years. We have been here for three or four days, and leave it to-morrow. The Duke was quite flattered and pleased with your letter. From all I learn, I am inclined to believe the Opposition are very low, and do not flatter themselves with a great stand this session. The revenue is a great aid to us. I have not heard a word since from Lord Liverpool, but take it for granted (which I shall lament) that he will not be able to succeed in vacating the Treasury; I am rather of opinion that he would wish it if he well could.

Most faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

MR. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Tuesday.

MY DEAR B——,

In consequence of Lord Liverpool's summons, desiring me to be in town two or three days before the 16th, and that he would meet me there any day I would appoint, I announced to him that I would come up Sunday evening, and call upon him any hour that he would fix on Monday. On my arrival on Sunday night I found an answer to this, stating, without one word of excuse or apology, that he was going down to Combe Wood, but would return on Tuesday and receive me at twelve o'clock on that day. This certainly is anything but civil, but I suppose it is the nature of the animal. I have been with him this morning, and he told me that there would be a Council on Thursday at Carlton House for the purpose of swearing me a Privy Councillor, and that he thought it would be as well that you should take the same opportunity of kissing hands for

your Dukedom. Most heartily do I congratulate you upon its completion.

I find that both Sturges Bourne[1] and Lord Binning[2] have desired to retire from the India Board; both, however, expressing their strong wish to support the Government, and that their retreat may be considered as unconnected with Canning's.

Their successors are not yet fixed upon. It is proposed to Charles Grant to be one, which I am told he has not yet positively declined, but I can hardly believe that he will accept anything so much lower in the scale of office than what he has previously held. This is unlucky, as it will so much delay my own appointment and the commencement of my salary, which begins to be an object. I also find the finances of this Board in such a state of embarrassment that there is a debt of 2000*l.*, and the charges next year likely to exceed the income 1600*l.* a-year, to meet which, a deduction of five per cent. on all our salaries is talked of as the only resource.

Lord Liverpool professes readiness to appoint Phillimore to a seat at one of the Boards, but not to be held with his profession, which is a mere contrivance to negative it.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

St. James's Square, Jan. 17, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I have not yet seen Sir Scrope, but I understood yesterday from Hobhouse that your patents were all in progress, and that it was determined that you should have a new Earldom of Temple, remainder to your own male issue, remainder to the male issue of Hester, Countess Temple,

[1] Right Hon. William Sturges Bourne, Secretary of State in 1827.

[2] Son of the Earl of Haddington. In 1833, he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

the original grantee, remainder to your granddaughter and her heirs male. I am going to-day to be sworn in and to kiss hands, and shall previously see Lord Liverpool, whom I find very impracticable about Phillimore.

The difficulty about my office is, that the payment by the India Company being limited to 26,000*l.* a-year by Act of Parliament, Canning introduced a new scale of salary for the clerks, increasing according to the number of years' service, so much faster than seniors have dropped off, that there would in the coming year be an excess of 1600*l.*, besides the past debt of 2000*l.* already contracted to the tradesmen. This Courtenay proposes to meet by a general deduction of five per cent. from every salary in the office, of which I cannot approve, unless some such system should pervade the public service. It appears to me that the fitter course is to pay the debt out of Bathurst's lapsed salary of last year and to oblige the clerks to revert to a fixed scale of salaries.

I dined yesterday at the General's and met Lord Bathurst, who as I see most plainly, is very hostile and bitter against Lord Wellesley, quizzing his speeches, &c. &c. All seems to be going on well, but I am sorry to find that Joy is likely to be Solicitor-General.

Goulburn has written to Grant that their only difference is upon a legislative measure, and that he has no inclination at all to depart from his official and executive system. The regular and constant manner of doing business is very much *pronée* by the Orange party, contrasted with the indecision and idleness of Grant, though they allow that abstinence from wine is a new and dangerous feature in an Irish Secretary.

I fear that the country gentlemen will make a desperate effort to diminish the taxation, and that the friends of the Government are disposed to take the front of the battle.

There are considerable apprehensions in Ireland of distress from the utter failure of the potatoes, which are all rotten, and of the turves which they were prevented by the wet from cutting.

As I was stepping into the carriage to go to Court, Sir Scrope put into my hand the copy of your letter, and I could only desire him to call to-morrow at eleven. Fremantle and I were duly sworn in, and I kissed hands as President of the Board. The K—— looked glum and out of humour, but as there was no opportunity for him to speak to us, we could not ascertain whether it belonged to us individually, or from a previous long Recorder's report, which I believe always makes him nervous and uncomfortable. Lord Liverpool seemed much more coming about Fremantle, but I fear there is little hope of my Board being completed so that the Commission shall issue before Wednesday next.

Ever yours affectionately,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, Jan. 23, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I have this morning seen Lord Liverpool, and received from him the offer of a seat at the India Board for Phillimore, which will be thankfully accepted. It is rather odd that they do not place him at the Admiralty, since they have an opportunity for it. Berkeley Paget accepts a place at the Audit Board, Fremantle will go to the Treasury, and Sir George Clerk come to the India Board from the Admiralty, where he is to be succeeded by Douglas (brother to Lord Queensberry). If B. Paget declines the Audit Office, Fremantle will come to the India Board, and Sir G. Clerk remain at the Admiralty.

As yet we have had little talk of business. The general plan of business for the session will be opened to us the day after to-morrow, at Lord Liverpool's, where we all dine for that purpose.

He concurred with me generally upon the principles you suggest, of, in the first instance, bringing forward as our own measure all that we think we could with any degree of propriety concede, instead of waiting till it is wrung from us. Upon corn I really think that the eyes of the public are beginning to open, and that a large proportion of the House of Commons will be ready to resist any proposition for again tampering with its price, notwithstanding the nonsense of Mr. Webb Hall and his petitioners.

I find by the accounts from Paris there is rather more hope of co-operation between the Right and Centre parties than had at first appeared, but there are many symptoms of restlessness and cabal among the military, particularly the non-commissioned officers.

My uncles are extremely alarmed at the threat of a question being brought forward on Henry's appointment to Switzerland, which, it is contended, ought to be left only to the care of a *chargé d'affaires*. At any other period than the present I should think nothing of it, and even now I do not think it can produce much effect, since Stratford Canning held the same appointment in 1820, or till the end of 1819, and as the difference between the expense of an envoy and *chargé d'affaires* to the public is only 2400*l.*, one-half of which is covered by the cessation of Henry's pension.

Lord Liverpool told me that your Dukedom had produced many very urgent applications—Lord Hertford, &c., and Lord Waterford for an Irish Dukedom.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Jan. 20, 1822.

I most heartily congratulate you on the attainment of an object which you had so much at heart. The additional provision respecting the Earldom is certainly a very considerable fresh mark of favour, but I hope a very unnecessary one. My newspapers have missed me for these two last days, but I conclude I am not premature in directing this to you by your new title.

Plunket's appointment has actually been recommended from Ireland. Wellesley had indeed told me, when he was here, that he had full powers to carry that arrangement into effect, and in all contingencies; and he certainly has not taken much time to do so. Saurin refuses both the Chief Justiceship and the Irish Peerage, both which were offered to sweeten the pill. It is said—but I know not how to credit it—that although this thing had been directed from England ever since last spring, the first intimation which Saurin ever had of it was subsequent to Wellesley's arrival.

The only uneasiness I now feel is lest the Irish Chancellor should feel his consequence so much superseded by this event, as to induce him to look to his retreat, which would of necessity remove Plunket from the station where his services are most wanted, to one of higher dignity but less ability.

I feel the greatest anxiety about poor Hodson. It was not till this morning that I heard of his danger. Few things ever gratified me more than his appointment, and I had looked forward with infinite delight to the hope that you might be, as I am sure you wished to be, of much further use to him.

Ever most affectionately yours,

G.

The principal political friends of the Duke of Buckingham that had for some time past been acting as a distinct party, now either formed a portion of, or were content to vote with, the Government; but this coalition was something more than an addition of strength—it implied, to a very important extent, a change of policy. That it was so understood by the community at large will sufficiently appear in the course of the correspondence.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

India Office, Jan. 28, 1822, Five P.M.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I have this instant returned from the Cabinet, to which the first sketch of the King's Speech has been submitted. The principal parts of it are the expression of hope that peace may still be preserved between Russia and the Porte; pleasure at the manifestation of loyalty and attachment during his visit in Ireland; hope that it has produced beneficial effects, but regret at the spirit of outrage which has evinced itself by systematic violence, &c.; determination to exert every means in his power to protect the peaceable and loyal, and referring it to the consideration of Parliament whether further powers may be necessary—*i.e.*, Insurrection Act; assurances of the determination to administer the law *equally and impartially* to every description of subjects; great satisfaction at the increasing produce of the revenue, and the flourishing state of manufactures. The Speech concludes with the depression of the agricultural interest, and so commending the subject to the most serious attention of Parliament.

I have no time to enter into a discussion of these points

before the post goes out, as I only returned from Dropmore to the Cabinet, and have some other letters which cannot be delayed. I am anxious to hear how soon you come up, as subjects of this kind can be considered infinitely better by conversation than correspondence.

Our accounts from Ireland are very bad. There has been a desperate engagement between the insurgents and a party of the King's troops near Bantry, in which the former fought with great resolution. One of the soldiers was killed, and twelve of the others. There has also been a search for arms in Kildare, which has produced 667 fire-locks and a great number of other weapons. This, so near Dublin, is a more alarming circumstance than the former.

The Commission for the new Board, consisting of Fremantle, Phillimore, and myself, is at length ordered, and will appear in to-morrow night's *Gazette*.

If you have no particular objection, I wish that you would yourself propose to Lord Liverpool the arrangement for the change of Phillimore for Sir E. Carington at St. Mawe's, and the return of the former for a Government seat.

I think that Lord Liverpool seems indisposed to Phillimore, and perhaps has not yet forgot his resentment on account of Phillimore voting for Lord Grenville immediately after he (Lord L.) had made him Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford. I have been obliged to urge him a good deal to obtain what I have, and I therefore should not like immediately to make a new request to him, apparently in favour of the same person, though really for Sir E. C——.

There is a strong disposition in the Cabinet to relieve the agricultural interest, but whether this can be done most effectually by a sacrifice of taxation to the amount of

1,500,000*l.*, or by an issue of Exchequer Bills, as has been done in former instances for the commercial interest, is not yet determined.

The absurdity of supposing that the importation of corn three years ago, since which the ports have been shut, can govern the present markets, seems really too absurd for even a country gentleman to swallow.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

The reason of Fremantle not being appointed to the Treasury is that Lord Anglesea is, I believe, apprehensive of contest at Milborne Port, and therefore does not choose that Berkeley Paget should vacate his seat.

Would it not be as well to recommend Sir E. C. to Lord Liverpool for a Treasury seat as [well as] Phillimore? I own I think it might embarrass the pressing the latter for the King's Advocateship, in the event of its becoming vacant. I am, however, most perfectly ready, if you prefer it, to mention the matter to Lord L.; but certainly had rather not, under the circumstances, so soon ask anything more for Phillimore.

DR. PHILLIMORE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Doctors' Commons, Jan. 29, 1822.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have a letter from a friend in Dublin, which mentions that Lord Wellesley has said something in conversation which has been construed into meaning that he expects soon to be in Lord Liverpool's place; and as a confirmation of this, it is added, that he will not appoint to the situations in his household till after Parliament has met. Have the kindness not to cite me in the *most remote manner* for this communication. The accounts from the South of

Ireland are bad. The White Boys have treated some of Lord Bantry's people who have unhappily fallen into their hands as Owen Glendower's Welshmen treated the English in Henry IV.'s time—stuck their heads on poles, &c. &c.

On my way here to-day I met Abercromby, who told me we should have warm work in Parliament, and that the Board of Control would be attacked, as Wynn's appointment had given so much umbrage to *several* who thought he ought not to have been preferred to them. Of course Huskisson is one alluded to. Who the others are, I cannot guess. The Opposition certainly calculate on the bad humour of the *Canningites*, and the storm which is expected to blow from the country. They would wish to have it understood that on certain points connected with economy there is an understanding between the Boodle's *set* and themselves; but this I disbelieve.

Believe me,

Your Grace's obliged and very faithful,

JOSEPH PHILLIMORE.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, Jan. 30, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I came to town last night, and find from a civil letter I received last night from Lord Liverpool, that I am to go to the Board of Control, at which I am exceedingly sorry, and rather more so as I find I am to go to bed there with Phillimore. I own I thought I was entitled to a little better berth than he was—however, I am sure you did your *possible*. I think also it is not the most creditable thing for your party that we should all be huddled up in a nest together. In short, altogether I am sorry for it, and

should have been much better pleased at the Treasury. I have been riding with Tierney, who professes to know nothing of the intention of Opposition, but evidently builds entirely on the diversions in Ireland, and the necessity of the Catholic question being now to be decided, if the Grenvilles, and Plunket, and Lord Wellesley have any regard for their character, or if they have any weight in the councils. An attack is to be made immediately on the appointment of Henry Wynn to Switzerland, as being unnecessarily called for at a moment of professed economy.

Ever, my dear Duke,
Most truly yours,
W. H. FREMANTLE.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Jan. 30, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I omitted in my account of the King's speech a paragraph stating that the estimates have been framed with every possible attention to economy, and expressing satisfaction at the reduction which it had been found possible to make upon the general expenditure, particularly on the navy and military services. This amounts to 1,500,000*l.*; but there is 450,000*l.* of temporary charge to be added for the veteran battalions to Ireland. I am myself much inclined to agree with your view, and to think that with the present superabundance of capital in the market, the advance of five millions to the agricultural interest in Exchequer Bills at four per cent. interest can do little. It may have the effect of producing a general lowering of the interest on mortgages, and if this should succeed, it would indeed be a material advantage, and would also collaterally tend to raise the stocks and to enable us

to save a million and a half by paying off the Five per cents.

Still I am myself very anxious for a reduction of taxation, but it is true that it is very difficult to determine to what articles this should be preferably applied for the relief of the land. Windows would probably be the most direct, and yet that would apply more efficaciously to the towns than to the country. It has been already seen how very little relief was produced by the reduction of the malt duty.

Every day's account from Ireland is worse and worse. There is more appearance of organization and connexion; nor have we as yet a clue to any of the directors of it.

I know nothing about Bloomfield, or of what is going on at Brighton.

You will be amused to hear that from secret and private sources we have reason to believe that Lord C—— has by this time made himself master of the military chest of the *army*, containing 500,000 dollars, and has sailed to establish himself *independently* on the isthmus. Will not this make a good novel for some future Walter Scott?

To-day the plan for issuing Exchequer Bills to the landed interest seems to be nearly dropped, and to be changed into a general proposition for increasing circulation by borrowing four millions from the Bank. Still I am convinced that we must come to the reduction of taxation as the only measure of relief which will be comprehensible.

Ever yours,
C. W. W.

Parliament was opened on the 5th of February by the King in person; but before the Parliamen-

tary campaign was commenced, some anxiety was felt by the friends of the newly-appointed envoy to Switzerland, in consequence of a threatened opposition to his appointment from the Whigs and Radicals. This portion of the House of Commons affected to treat the recent coalition as a matter of very little importance,—nevertheless, it was believed that they would gladly seize upon any opening for an attack upon the Government and their new friends; and it was imagined that the disappointment which had followed from the expectations excited by the overtures of the Court last year, would give an additional stimulus to their hostility.

MR. HENRY WILLIAMS WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

St. James's Square, Feb. 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I am sorry to hear that you have such authentic accounts of the attack on *me*. I have still reason to believe that none will be made till the general one on the Civil List. Charles has had a conversation with Lord Londonderry, who says that he is perfectly ready to meet any attack, both as to the time the mission had been vacant, and as to the expediency of having a person there with my rank. With respect to the first, he says that as soon as Canning left Switzerland, he took the King's pleasure as to Lord Clanwilliam's appointment, which was approved, but that in consequence of Hamilton's illness, he was appointed, *ad interim*, Under Secretary of State, and that he liked the business so much, that he now wishes to hold the situation permanently. With respect to the expediency of

appointing a Minister, he defends it on the plea of all the great powers having a representative there with that rank, and that in case of disturbances in Italy, it might be a very important post. In point of expense, I find that it will be more considerable than Munich, Stuttgard, or Frankfort. Lord Londonderry thanked Charles for my offer, but said that he did not see any necessity for accepting it, and that it would be of bad consequences, as showing weakness at the first start. Duncannon told Phillimore that they were not making any whip for the first days.

Many thanks for your box, respecting which I have sent to inquire. I kiss hands on Monday, after which I will call in Pall Mall, in hopes of finding you arrived.

Ever yours affectionately,

H. WILLIAMS WYNN.

The references to the late Dean of Westminster, to be found in the two following letters, are not without interest. The Duke of Buckingham was anxious to engage him as a travelling companion in a tour he was about to undertake, in which he proposed to avail himself of every opportunity for adding to his knowledge of geology.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Feb. 17, 1822.

My friend Buckland is so far from being a quiz in a buzz wig, that he is, I think, one of the men I should most choose for an *agreeable companion in a post-chaise.* Whether he is prepared to undertake so formidable an expedition as you speak of, I should have some doubt, and the rather because he has usually some project of his own for spending the long vacation abroad in the prosecution of his

inquiries. I can, however, have no difficulty in asking him the question, and at all events I should be glad of the opportunity of making him known to you, because I am sure you cannot but like him.

I have been reading Lord Londonderry's speech, which, as far as I understand his figures, seems to me more satisfactory than I had hoped. The great question is—will it satisfy the country gentlemen, without whom he cannot go on, and will they, on this ground, make a real and firm stand in his behalf? Of that of course I cannot pretend to judge, nor perhaps is it easy to say who can.

Government have certainly, under all the circumstances, acted wisely in taking the present moment for reducing the Five per cents. quite down to Four, though it is obvious they might have made rather a better bargain by a little further delay. So far is well, and I think the Malt Tax is, on the whole, the best they could have chosen, though I am not sure whether the Window Tax would not have given more general relief. His million for next year (assuming Ireland to be tranquillized), I also fully understand and approve.

But pray explain to me if you can (for from the newspaper I can make nothing of it), from what quarter his 500,000*l.* in each year, for the four preceding years, is to come? Observe he states it (if said *Courier* be correct), as something independent of, and in addition to, the future reduction of Four per cents. down to Three.

If by the conjuration of what is called *borrowing of the community*, in order to keep up the *nominal* Sinking Fund, he means to apply the five millions annual surplus at *simple* interest, and not at *compound*, he ought in the first place to say so distinctly, for whether right or wrong (about which much might be said), it is, at least, a more complete departure than any yet made from the original principle of the Sinking Fund. I do not say it would be

necessarily wrong because *new*, but it would be *so new* that it ought to be brought distinctly under view.

But I suspect this cannot be his meaning, both from his relying so much on the necessity of keeping up Pitt's measure, and also from his expressly stating the larger amount of this sinking fund of five millions in proportion to debt when compared with Pitt's original million in proportion to the debt of 1786. The fallacy of such a comparison would be monstrous, if the one was a fund working at compound interest, and the other be meant to work only at simple interest. Besides, even if this were to be done, the annual interest set free by the 5,000,000*l.* annually applied would, at four per cent. be 200,000*l.*, not 500,000*l.* So I am at a loss to make it out, and perhaps after all it is only the blunder of the newspaper reporter. If you can explain it to me pray do.

Lord L—— takes no notice of the successive falling in of the army and navy half-pay and pensions, which, if the present amount be as he states it, 5,000,000*l.*, cannot be put at less than from 100,000*l.* to 150,000*l.* to put in in each year. I suppose he was afraid of the old joke against Sir George Yonge, who was said to have expressed a hope that the half-pay officers would die off fast, and be thus *provided for*.

Ever most affectionately yours,

G.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Feb. 20, 1822.

I enclose you Mr. Buckland's answer, which I think you may pretty nearly consider as an acceptance of your offer, and I really congratulate you upon it. He is full of information of all sorts, with lively spirits, and a most active mind and body, and will, I think, be as cheerful and amus-

ing a companion as a man could have in such a tour. I trust you take a draughtsman with you, for without that your *cortége* will be very incomplete.

I do not think Monday's discussion argues at all favourably for the Government, and Huskisson's loss will be most severely felt on the corn cause, if he is really so weak as to be driven from it by a little pelting in pamphlets and speeches. To my taste his speech read as much the best that was made on the former day. But I cannot for the life of me see what good the four millions are to do; nor can I understand, on the other side, Ricardo's fears of the harm they are to do.

The Bank have acted with the same ignorance as has characterized them throughout. If they do not lend their gold to Government, they must lend it to individuals by lowering their discounts, and if they incur loss by either operation, I do not see who but they will suffer by it.

Ever most affectionately yours,

G.

I see by the subsequent accounts in the *Courier*, that Government does plainly mean to apply the 5,000,000*l.* at simple, and not at compound interest, and I do not see why one should be sorry for it. But even so, I cannot work 200,000*l.* up to 500,000*l.* I suppose the rest is to come, and much more I am confident will come, from casual saving and increased revenue in each successive year.

If I cared a farthing about my predictions, otherwise than as the facts are of public benefit, I should have great cause to be proud of all I have said from the first day of peace, as to the necessary rise of our revenue to follow from it, and that while all the world was croaking all round me on that subject.

The threatened attack did not come off for some time; nevertheless a fair amount of political skirmishing took place in both Houses, and every great question was a wager of battle in which the contending parties exerted themselves to the utmost to overpower their adversaries. Catholic Emancipation was expected to be a severe contest, but the increasing disturbances in the sister kingdom caused the friends of Ireland much anxiety, and rendered a coercive policy inevitable. At this period the country gentlemen began to exhibit a diminution of ministerial support, which created considerable embarrassment.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

MY DEAR B——,

I yesterday met the Chancellor in Cabinet, who immediately came to me, and expressed in the strongest manner the pain which he had felt at seeing sentiments attributed to him by Fyshe Palmer, in his speech at the Bedford meeting, which he never entertained, and which if he had, he trusts he never should have been fool enough to have so expressed.

The joke is a very bad one, and was repeated to me when I came to town in January as Mackintosh's, probably with just as little foundation as it is now attributed to the Chancellor.

Lord John's coarse and ungentlemanlike attack appeared to me very much to miss fire, and my reply was well received and listened to; but it is curious to see what common cause the newspaper reports make in hostility

against me—wilfully altering, and even inserting things for which there was not the least foundation in my speech.

The *Times* contained the only tolerable report, which was copied in the *Courier*, and even from that it would appear that, instead of being extremely clamorous and inattentive to Folkestone[1] (so much that he was obliged repeatedly to stop, in order to procure silence), and then listening to what I said very favourably, the House had adopted a conduct exactly the reverse.

Lord Londonderry is to-day to open a plan of providing for the annual charge of five millions now paid in half-pay, pensions, &c., by granting long annuities for forty-five years, by which means a saving of two millions annually is to be made, which is to repeal the salt tax and diminish the window-tax.

Being myself no friend to the Sinking Fund, and anxious that the Government should have the credit of affording every practicable remission of taxation, I have no objection whatever to this; but I must say for those who support that system, it is somewhat ridiculous with one hand to expend five millions in relief of the burthens of posterity, and with the other to transpose a burthen from our own shoulders upon theirs.

I am still myself sanguine in my hope of the continuance of peace, as I think it clear that both powers wish to avoid war, and that the Emperor Alexander is aware of the certainty that the flame once lighted must spread further.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

House of Commons, Six P.M.

MY DEAR B——,

Lord Liverpool had not, at eleven this morning, returned from Brighton, and Londonderry was not out of bed, or at

[1] Viscount Folkestone, the present Earl of Radnor.

least not come down. I sent your two notes to the latter, but have not yet seen him, though the post is just going out.

The visit to Brighton relates, I believe, wholly to the Civil List, on which the country gentlemen are to make their next serious attack. I do not agree with you in your wish that the Government should break up upon so very unpopular a question as that of the Admiralty. I myself look at the minority on the salt tax with more apprehension and concern than the majority on the Admiralty.

Ever yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. THOS. GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

March 4, 1822.

My dear Duke,

The country gentlemen have so much deserted the Ministers in the Admiralty questions, that it is not a propitious moment to ask favours, while so much ill-humour mutually prevails. A great many of these country gentlemen being sulky and discontented because the price of corn will not sustain the rise they had made in their rents, vent their spleen by opposing and thwarting the Government; and some who were steady anti-reformers have suffered themselves to be gulled by Cobbett into attributing the pressure of their rents to an inadequate representation in Parliament, though it has no more to do with their rents than with those of the Cham of Tartary. Yet these blockheads all profess that they do not wish to change the Government, though they are doing all that they can to annihilate them. The danger is a pretty serious one, for, with the connexion that Opposition holds with the Radicals, and the daily pledges they give to the tenets of these people, it is probable that the extensive changes that would immediately take place, would have very much the effect of an

entire revolution in the government of the country. At sixty-seven this is less interesting to me than it is to you and to your son, for whose sake I heartily wish I may see this with exaggerated alarm.

Most affectionately yours,

T. G.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, March 6, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Your letter of the 3rd followed me into Hampshire, from whence I returned this day; and I assure you that I am much flattered by your confidence.

You are quite right; the country gentlemen treat the Government exceedingly ill. What I complain of is not the votes of individuals upon the salt tax or the Lords of the Admiralty, or upon any other question of reduction, as in the existing temper of the country, men may find themselves obliged to follow the torrent rather than stem it; but what I complain of is their acting in concert, and as a party independent of, and without consultation with, the Government, which they profess to support, but really oppose. In ordinary times, and under ordinary circumstances, this conduct could not be borne for a moment. The Government would necessarily be obliged to take the line which you suggest; and I think that under ordinary circumstances the result would be what you suppose. I think it also not impossible that we may find ourselves obliged to take this step before this session closes. But I confess that I shall take it myself, and see it taken by my colleagues with the greatest reluctance and pain, for reasons which in fact constitute the great difference between these times and others.

It would not be difficult to form a Government to succeed to us out of our own party. But if we are unable to conduct the Government, they would be still more unequal to it; and they would want particularly our experience in tiding over the difficulties of the day. The Opposition are still more unable than ourselves or others to form and conduct a real Government. But they would be able, and not unwilling, to do a great deal of mischief—enough probably to prevent us or any others who should succeed to them from being able to conduct the Government again. They would soon find that they could not govern upon their new system; and they would not be supported by the country on that or any other; but they would just have the power to render the government of the country impossible to their successors.

I have stated to you very shortly my view of this question, which I believe is the true one. I believe, then, that however painful it may be to us, and I declare most sincerely that it is so to me, it is our duty to remain where we are as long as we can; and at all events endeavour to overcome the difficulties of this most critical of all moments.

Believe me, ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

The Government was for the hundredth time menaced with immediate dissolution; but the familiar proverb that pronounces the longevity of ordinary men when threatened, appeared to be equally applicable to Cabinet Ministers. It will be seen from the following communications that they were likely to lose the support of one of their most influential friends at Court. Sir Benjamin Bloomfield, however, was not so completely disgraced

as the writer tries to make it appear, for, on the 1st of April he was gazetted as a Knight Grand Cross of the Bath, and lived to enjoy several other honours and advantages.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Board of Control, March 10, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

You can have no idea how much advantage we derive from the division of the other night, being of much greater importance to the Government than to us, and it is so felt by the Opposition. Nothing could be more absurd than Tierney's conduct, speaking entirely against Creevey, and by his vote identifying himself with the Opposition upon it. Lord N—— was really the height of folly, to call it by no other name, for the division was so miserable a one, and so completely confined to the Opposition, that there was no one reason why he should have come up for it.

I am rather surprised at your saying that you think Ireland is looking worse; it is not thought so here. I asked both Peel and Plunket on Saturday, and their accounts from Ireland and their private opinion on the subject were much more favourable. Plunket told me he was satisfied that as yet nothing had emanated from Dublin, that whatever were the steps of insurrection either at Limerick or Cork, they proceeded without communication or combination with Dublin. I am quite persuaded the only thing for the Government to establish and confirm their strength would be to force Canning into the Cabinet. It is the height of madness to let him go abroad in the present state of the House of Commons.

As to the conduct of the K——, it is inexplicable. He is praising Lord Liverpool on all occasions, but sending

invitations to nothing but the Opposition. The communications on the subject of Bloomfield are now carried on by the Duke of Wellington. How this is to end no one guesses, as to the provision that is to be made for him. With regard to Ireland I am quite satisfied the great man is holding the most conciliating language to both parties; holding out success to the Catholics, and a determination to resist them to the Protestants.

Ever yours,

W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Board of Control, March 11, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

You may depend upon it nothing can be more precarious than the situation of the Government at the present moment. My own opinion is that it will stand, but the difficulties are great, and we shall only be extricated from them by the fear of the country gentlemen bringing in the Opposition. The defence for the Post-office will be most arduous; it can only be taken on the ground of influence, which must be maintained. If it is lost, which seems to be apprehended, it cannot alone form a sufficient ground for the breaking-up the Government. It is undoubtedly (coupled with other measures which have taken place) a good ground for Government to hold a language of retirement, but they must rest such a step on some more important proof of want of confidence—I mean the loss of any taxes—as, indeed, a small division against the repeal of a tax, which would be almost as discreditable to them as the repeal itself. You will observe by the papers that notice has been given for the repeal of almost all—indeed, I may say all—the taxes which bear on agriculture. This

therefore must be the touchstone, and upon this they must rest their determination. If I were to speculate on the question of the Postmaster-General, I should think it would not be carried; but such is not the general opinion, and if we are to believe the common report, Lord Normanby will carry his motion.

I don't know whether you have heard the particulars of Bloomfield's dismissal. He received on Thursday last in town a notification from Brighton of what was intended, and he got at the same time a note from Lord Liverpool, desiring him to call upon him at ten o'clock the next morning. This he accordingly did, when the Minister formally announced the King's order of dismissal from all his employments and offices, together with the order to quit his residence at Carlton Palace and the Stud House (Lady Bloomfield retaining the Rangership of Hampton Court Park, which she holds for life); an offer was at the same time made to him to retain his salaries, which he rejected. No ground was given for the dismissal. Sir Benjamin claimed a Peerage which had been promised by the King under his hand within the last month. This was rejected on the part of Lord Liverpool, but the person who communicated this to me, and who had it from Bloomfield himself immediately on his leaving Lord Liverpool, told me that on this point Bloomfield said he should make his stand. No private secretary is to be appointed with the rank of Privy Councillor; Mr. Watson is to remain to arrange the King's papers, and to lay them before his Majesty. The Privy Purse not named. Thus far I tell you as knowing distinctly, and from the very best authority, the facts. On what ground the dismissal has taken place I cannot tell you more than common report, which varies and invents ten thousand different reasons—one that there was a large sum to be accounted for in the

expenses of the Coronation, incurred for diamonds. The whole of these expenses were referred to an auditor, and Bloomfield was summoned to give an account of these diamonds; his answer was that they had been furnished by order of the King, and his directions were to place them on the Coronation account. Whether they were so applied he could not say, but took it for granted they were. It was not, however, so proved; and the King, considering such a disclosure, or rather explanation, on the part of Bloomfield as a breach of confidence, made it the ground of his dismissal. There may or may not be some truth in this report; but depend upon it, the measure has arisen from an intrigue in the party now governing at the Pavilion. For my own part, I think nothing can augur worse for the Government than this very bout. I am quite confident Bloomfield was devoted to this Government, and I am also sure that no new nomination of private secretary takes place, because in such an event the Ministers must have a voice, and no one could be appointed but under the sanction of Government. There is a large party of Opposition gone down to Brighton this week—Duke of Devonshire, Lord Lansdowne, &c. &c.

I will endeavour to communicate with Parnell, but he evidently avoids me, and depend upon it he will not commit himself until he finds which party prevails. Plunket is arrived, and is actually at this moment in the next room with Wynn. We have not much fear in our quarter of the Board of Control on Thursday, which I suppose will end in an abusive speech from Creevey. Vansittart's Superannuation Bill will create a great deal of discussion, and which he will not mend by his explanations. I have nothing to add; you shall hear from me as things occur. The next ten days will decide upon the question. I had a note yesterday from Lord Grenville on other matters, but he

adds a few sentences expressive of his apprehensions for the Government, which can only be maintained by a sudden alarm and consequent support from the independent part of the House of Commons.

Ever, my dear Duke, sincerely yours,

W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Board, March 22, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

Canning has at length swallowed his scruples and difficulties, and will next week be appointed Governor-General. I regret this extremely, for the reasons mentioned in my last, but it cannot I fear be prevented. I was mistaken in telling you that Newport went away, as he voted with us.

Ever yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, March 30, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

The King has been in town and went this morning back to Brighton. I hear from the *best* accounts that he is ill, thinks ill of himself, and is low, but Wynn told me he thought he looked very well and was particularly civil to him, and inquired most kindly after you. Bloomfield is to have a pension of 1200*l.* per annum, Lady Bloomfield the Park at Hampton Court (not the Stud House); he is also to retain the Privy Purse, but to do no duty for it (how this is to be I know not). This is calculated altogether to afford an income of 2800*l.* per annum. He is to go to Brighton on Monday to be invested with the blue ribbon, and the second Irish Peerage is held out to him. All this you may

rely upon, as it comes from the King's own lips. The only ground of complaint urged, is Bloomfield's temper, which was all of a sudden found to be so bad that he could not longer go on with him. He also said, "He had engaged not to renew the appointment of Private Secretary, but that he did not know how he could possibly go on without one." This looks as if he meant to fight the battle again, and the Ministers will be mad if they give way.

You will see what occurred yesterday respecting the Catholic question; they will bully Plunket into moving it, which for one I shall be sorry for.

I am just interrupted, therefore am compelled to finish this.

Ever most faithfully yours,

W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

India Board, March 30, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

I had an audience on Thursday after the Council, and was very graciously received, with very particular and really kind inquiries about your health.

You know that my bile is not easily stirred, nor am I, for a Welshman, particularly irritable on anything connected with politics; but really in the course of twenty-five years' parliamentary life, I do not believe I have ever felt so much as on Lord King's coarse and personal attack on Henry. If he chose to question the propriety of the Swiss mission, it was perhaps bad taste in him, but after all fair political game; but to speak of one so nearly connected with him, and whom he had affected always to maintain intimacy with, as a person wholly unknown, to rake into his diplomatic life, and by implication accuse him of overstating his losses in his claim for compensation fifteen years

ago, shows such a total absence of all feeling that I cannot trust myself ever again to exchange a word with him.

On public affairs I have little new to say. We tide on and shall do neither good nor evil without being compelled to it.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

CHAPTER VIII.

[1822.]

SIR WILLIAM KNIGHTON—MR. CANNING BRINGS FORWARD THE CATHOLIC QUESTION—OPINIONS RESPECTING CATHOLIC RELIEF—STATE OF THE KING'S HEALTH—POLITICAL MEETING TO CONSIDER A NEW CATHOLIC MEASURE—MARQUIS WELLESLEY AT THE PHŒNIX PARK—COMPLAINTS OF HIS INATTENTION TO HIS DUTIES AS LORD-LIEUTENANT—SPEECH OF DR. PHILLIMORE ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION—MOTION ON THE APPOINTMENT OF MR. HENRY W. WYNN—CONDUCT OF MR. ROBERT PEEL—LIBELS—ANTI-CATHOLICISM IN WALES—BALL FOR THE RELIEF OF THE IRISH—PROJECTED VISIT OF THE KING TO SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE statement hazarded in the next letter, of Sir W. Knighton's literary incapacity, is, we believe, unfounded. The memoir of this gentleman, edited by his widow, affords ample evidence to the contrary, and he enjoyed a large share of the King's confidence at this date, and subsequently. Lord King's motion for a further reduction of the Civil List, animadverted on in the same communication, was made on the 26th of March, and Mr. Canning's notice of motion for the admission of the Catholic Peers into the Imperial Legislature was given on the 29th; the motion was brought forward on the following day, and carried by a majority of five; on May the 10th, the second reading was carried by an increased majority of fourteen. The interest taken by the Duke of Buckingham in the question may be seen in some of the following letters:—

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Board of Control, April 1, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Depend upon it there must be some mistake or fumble about your application for the *entrée*. The fact is, there is no distinct person at present to whom the reference is had

at Brighton, and I have heard that the King complains bitterly of the inability of Knighton, who is quite incapable of writing a letter; whether this is true or not I cannot absolutely say, but I believe it from the quarter it came; it seems impossible that the King should have received the letter, or it must have escaped his memory on Thursday when Wynn was with him, otherwise he would have made some observation to him upon it. But pray don't hurry any further step: I will desire Mrs. F. to mention the thing to the Duchess and see what is said upon it; I doubt if she is in correspondence with the King.

I did not mention all the jobs for Bloomfield; he is to have a Governorship of Fort Charles, which Lord Stewart gives up to him, and the promise of a foreign mission, in addition to what I before enumerated to you. Lord King's conduct is worse than your brother's, who was not at the moment aware of "his honourable friend's" intention, and really does not know the details of your father's conduct as teller. I find from Charles W—— that Lord Grenville is equally outrageous with Lord King. It is evident that the Mountain are moving heaven and earth to lower you and your friends, but it will not do. I dread all the discussions arising from the Catholic question; Canning consulted no one, and I really believe not a soul was aware of his intention previous to his giving the notice. It will place Plunket in a very awkward predicament, for it must bring on the argument on the general question; you have no reason, however, as far as I can understand it, to complain of a want of communication, for it was Canning's *move*, and his alone. James Stanhope told me this morning he was coming into Parliament immediately; I think he said it was Houldsworth's seat, but am not quite sure. The Agricultural Report is to be made to-day, and Lord Londonderry gives notice for a motion upon it, I suppose to bring in a

Bill after the holidays. We shall get through the Miscellaneous Estimates to-day, and shall have advanced altogether most extremely in Parliamentary business, much beyond the usual proceedings, so as to secure the House being up in time, provided no unforeseen events occur.

Ever most faithfully yours,

W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

April 3, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

If I felt that any one vote was likely to be lost to the general Catholic question in the event of the success of Canning's motion, I should be very much disposed to agree in your view of the impolicy of agitating it. But if there be a reasonable probability (as we have been told) that there are those who, adverse to a measure of general concession, would accede to this, I should anticipate a directly opposite result to what you expect. Supposing the Bill to be carried, or even to meet with an increased support in the House of Lords, upon neither of which points am I myself very sanguine, it could not fail to be a stepping-stone to further success. Independent of the immediate gain of six votes when they are most wanted, there are many who, having once voted for a motion of concession, though not intending to proceed further, would feel themselves drawn in, and perceive that they cannot maintain that if it be safe for a Roman Catholic to exercise the functions of the Peerage, he must necessarily overturn the Constitution if elected to the House of Commons or appointed a justice of the peace. Our adversaries are perfectly right when they say that no breach can be made in the present system without necessarily entailing the fall of the whole of it.

I have, however, already told you that in my own opinion, this is so generally felt that there will be scarcely any difference in the division upon the particular and the general question. That it will be thought, as it is in fact, merely a new road to attain the same object. At the same time it is perfectly true, that by this means we get rid, or rather postpone, many of the difficult details which we have to encounter; and that the case of the Peers, who are deprived of a vested interest which they possessed without the slightest inconvenience to the public, long after the other Catholics were disabled from exercising their civil functions, is infinitely the strongest which exists.

Altogether, though the motion is brought forward not only without consultation, but even without the previous knowledge of most of the friends of the Catholics, still, my impression of its justice is such that even if I had a much stronger opinion of its impolicy than I had, I would earnestly support it; and I cannot but feel the utmost anxiety that under the particular circumstances in which you stand, the line which Lord C—— has taken upon the subject, and the disposition which exists to represent your conduct in the most unfavourable light, that you would reconsider the matter before you resolve to separate yourself from the rest of those who have so long advocated this measure. Upon questions of *right* and *wrong* every man must judge for himself, but on those of policy and expediency it seems to me that the opinion of the great body and the most eminent of those who contend for the same object ought to prevail.

I have just heard that Plunket has returned, and is desirous to see me. If I can have any conversation with him before the post goes out I will write again, if not, to-morrow. I hear that he has no apprehension of any

jealousy on the part of the Irish of the claims of the Peers being brought forward separately. He is extremely distressed between the strong wish of Lord Londonderry to keep back, and of the Opposition to force forward the question.

My own opinion is, as I have already told you, that the conversation which passed on Friday in the House when reported in Ireland will produce so strong a feeling in favour of the latter course that he cannot resist it.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Board of Control, April 4, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I dined yesterday at the Duke of Gloucester's, and, sitting by the Duchess, I had an opportunity of talking to her, and find she has no correspondence at all with the King, and is evidently not in communication with him but when he comes to town; and as I knew she tells every thing on earth to the Duke, and that he gossips again to his friends in Opposition, I thought it better not to say another word on the subject of your application to the King.

I am quite satisfied of the proper way of recurring to the subject, which is that Wynn should mention it to Lord Liverpool as a private hint, and it would be immediately settled; for be assured the King does not object, but that it is owing to some mistake, or loss of letter, and requiring an explanation—through Wynn would be much the easiest mode, and not make it of too much importance; for I think you should consider the thing as a matter almost of course, and not place more importance upon it than that which of course belongs to the incivility of not answering

your letter, and this really I cannot but think is unintentional."

Lady J—— is come back from Paris, abusing the K—— most violently, and regretting she ever was such an idiot as to suffer her boys to go to the Coronation. In short, there is nothing she does not say against him—and what do you think for? Because he has conferred the Dukedom of Buckingham on you, when Lord J—— was the proper representative of the title. This is very good, but I am not sorry the King should find these Opposition ladies not quite so disposed towards him.

Plunket still undecided as to his motion, which, for my own part, I hope he will not bring on, for be assured neither his nor Canning's has the chance of succeeding in the House of Lords, and the Lansdownes are only urging it because they see, or flatter themselves they see, the prospect of discussion thereby in the Cabinet.

The Report, as was expected, from the Agricultural Committee, is a miserable performance, concocted by Baukes, and affording no one benefit of any sort or kind, saving this, which in my opinion is valuable—an acknowledgment that Parliament can do nothing for the relief of the farmer.

I think Lord King looks foolish and awkward, as well he ought. His conduct is universally blamed.

Ever, my dear Duke,

Most faithfully yours,

W. H. F.

P.S.—The King comes to town on the 18th to remain for some little time. Does not return to Brighton, but, on his leaving town, goes to the Cottage at Windsor.

The Catholic question as introduced this session

by Mr. Canning, created more than its customary amount of political excitement, because, though one in which the Duke of Buckingham, his family and friends, had long taken a consistent interest, it was pressed forward by the Opposition to embarrass the recent coalition and the Government. The reader will shortly see the result.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall, April 4, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

I called to-day upon Plunket, and found him still in great doubt as to the course which it might be expedient for him to pursue on the Catholic question during the present session.

The bias of his own mind is evidently to defer the agitation of it till the next session, and he dwelt much on the disadvantage which might arise if Lord Londonderry, though supporting the measure, should cool in the active personal exertion to influence votes and to fix the wavering which he exhibited last session. Altogether, he considered the question as too important for him to decide upon singly, and therefore was disposed to request a meeting of its principal Parliamentary friends on Tuesday, the 16th, the day before the Houses re-assemble. In the interim he hoped to hear again from Ireland, and to see Lord Grenville. He would also be very anxious to communicate with you on the subject. It is obvious that if it is to be brought forward, it must be before Canning's, as it would be absurd to carry up the general measure after the Lords have rejected the more limited one.

My uncle Tom is very favourably inclined to Canning's

proposition, as he thinks that the admission of the general proposition is too great a change to expect at once from the House of Lords, while the proposition of the strongest of the detailed points, one by one, might be more likely to succeed. With this view, he told me that he had himself more than once suggested trying a personal Bill to enable the present Duke of Norfolk to sit and vote, and afterwards for the other peers, leaving the laws as they stand. This, I confess, I should not be so well inclined to. It will be an advantage, if we are to fight it in the proposed shape, that we are at once rid of all the details of oaths, securities, &c., for I conclude the consciences of the Roman Catholic Peers will, if the declaration be omitted, be disposed to swallow the Oath of Supremacy without a single wry face, which will be a most useful example to the other Catholics, and will of itself go far to bring the priests into order. Plunket does not apprehend any jealousy of the limited measure from Ireland, as he thinks that they will consider it as a stepping-stone, and will be much alive to the gain of six votes.

Plunket mentioned confidentially the opinion of Lord Wellesley in favour of deferring the general Bill till next year, for which likewise Lord Londonderry and Lord Melville seemed very anxious. How far what has passed in Parliament, and the eagerness of the Opposition, may drive the Catholics in Ireland forward, he could not calculate, but otherwise conceived them to be content to acquiesce in its postponement. At all events, I am most desirous that, whether you entirely approve of the manner in which the question is brought forward or not, you would acquiesce in the course to be determined upon, which I am sure is of the greatest importance to the public character of us all.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W W.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, April 8, 1822.

You know I have quite done with political speculations, and discussions of every kind. If Canning's motion succeeds (as I conclude it will) in the House of Commons, and comes up to the House of Lords, I can have no doubt of supporting it, as far as my vote, or more probably, my proxy, may extend, because it is one of the points that I have always most strongly urged, and particularly in my speech, even, of last year; and also because it really does seem to me that such a motion follows as a natural and undeniable consequence from any opinion entertained by the friends of the general measure, that next year would be more favourable than this for the discussion of the main question, in so far as it concerns the great body of the Irish Catholics.

The conduct of that body has certainly been often such as to show the utmost blindness as to what was likely to advance or obstruct their cause. But I cannot think them so ignorant as not to see the infinite advantage which the success of such a motion would give their friends in any future discussion.

My own opinion, indeed, is that it is in something of this piecemeal way that their object will ultimately be obtained; and I should not be without considerable hope of seeing Canning's measure carried, even in this year, if I felt quite sure that it would have fair play given it.

As to the prudence of postponing or bringing forward the main question this year I have formed no opinion, and I mean to form none. I have done with such speculations; I have entire confidence in Plunket's judgment and uprightness; and my greatest fear is that of seeing the measure taken out of his hands, to fall into worse, and

worse I am sure they will be into whatever hands other than his it can fall. He is coming here on Friday, and if you wish to say anything to him on the subject, you cannot do better than meet him.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Engleficld Green, April 10, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

The note you have enclosed me makes the thing more embarrassing, and I have been puzzling my brain how I can possibly promote the object; but I really know not in what way I could move. I could write a *private and confidential letter* to Lord Conyngham (whom I know intimately), stating the case, and expressing your embarrassment about it; but I don't know whether you would approve of this, and I cannot think of any other means. Let me know by return of post, and I will act accordingly. Perhaps you would write yourself to him, quite as a private friend (if you know him well enough), but if you had rather I should, only say so. I am quite sure, from Bloomfield's letter, it is meant to be done; but the *chief* is so strange and inconsistent, and I suppose so perfectly incapable of going through with his business, that unless he has a man at his elbow constantly to jog him on, he is not to be depended on for one moment.

I shall remain here till the day before the meeting. I dread any confusion that may arise from the jumble of the Catholic question. Be assured, whatever one may think of this question, it is not one that the public will go with you upon, in any measure of hostility to the Government, much less of separation, and as to our carrying it, or preventing its being carried, the question rests so entirely on the House of Lords, that it is there and there only that it

will be decided; and as long as we have the present Chancellor and Lord Liverpool, it is out of the question, unless the King were to take a part, which he certainly will not. Why, then, what would be the result? We should separate, the Government would go on, and we should have another sixteen years of opposition. I am arguing only on the idea of our taking a line different or more violent than the other best supporters of the measure. I mean Plunket, Londonderry, Canning, &c. &c. My idea is that the latter does not mean mischief so much as the regaining some little character and importance which he has so justly lost. —The King comes to the Cottage here as early as he possibly can after Easter. I believe him to be *decidedly* ill; his legs swell, and when they are reduced, he has violent attacks in his chest and head. His appetite is bad, and he is very low about himself.

Faithfully yours,

W. H. F.

P.S.—In looking at Bloomfield's letter again, I see he says *the King said he had given the necessary orders.* Surely this would justify you in writing to the Duke of Montrose to ask the question.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Board, April 12, 1822.

My dear B——,

I yesterday communicated your sentiments on the proposed manner of bringing forward the Catholic question to Plunket, who expressed himself highly flattered by the confidence which you placed in his opinion. He has to-day gone down to Dropmore, and returns to-morrow. The outline of the plan which he is disposed to recommend to remedy the most pressing grievances on the subjects of the

tithe, is to enable incumbents to agree for a composition for twenty-one years with the *landlords*, and the tithes then to be collected as county rates, and the receipts to be good in payment of rent. This is the outline; but the detail must be matter of great difficulty, since, though this may apply to future contracts, I fear that as the majority of the peasantry are for election purposes life tenants, it will not be easy to increase their rent to the landlords by the amount of what will be payable for tithes. As yet this has only been discussed by him with Lord Liverpool and Goulburn, so of course you will feel the necessity of not communicating upon it with any one.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Board, April 16, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

The proposed meeting on the course which it might be expedient to adopt respecting the Catholic question, took place this morning. As the persons invited to it were only those members of the House of Commons who had last year been named to bring in the Bill, I advised Fremantle not to come, since it would only excite jealousy to see *us* endeavouring to secure a majority by introducing any one who had not on former occasions been called into council on the subject.

The persons present were Tierney, Newport, Parnell, Canning, Grant, Phillimore, Plunket, and myself.

Tierney expressed a very strong opinion as to the detriment the general question had received from not having been taken up immediately upon the meeting of Parliament, from Lord Londonderry's declaration on the first day against any discussion of it, and from Plunket's language

on Canning's notice, but declined giving any advice as to the course to be pursued under existing circumstances at so late a period of the session, and after Canning's notice of the limited motion.

Newport, though agreeing in regretting that earlier measures had not been taken, yet distinctly admitted that the question had so much varied by what had taken place, that it could not now be agitated with advantage.

Grant thought that in the first instance the general motion had better have been brought forward, but that Lord Londonderry's declaration and Plunket's opinion, to which he was disposed implicitly to defer, were sufficient reasons for delaying it till next year. Altogether the result will be that Plunket will declare his decided intention of postponing it till next year.

Canning is sanguine in his expectation of increased support or rather neutrality of former adversaries, but Tierney doubts whether members of the House of Commons will be as ready to come to town on the limited as the general measure. He admitted, however, that the call which has been ordered for the 24th may go far to remove this objection.

I find the Orange party are loud in their abuse of Lord Wellesley for shutting himself up at the Phœnix Park, lying in bed all day, seeing nobody, and only communicating with Secretary Gregory by letter. Indeed, I believe that the latter is more than he often favours Secretaries Peel and Goulburn with.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

Your account of the King's health rather surprises me, as we all thought him, when last in town, to be looking decidedly better than he had been for some time.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

House of Commons, Five o'clock, April 18, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I should have sent your note to Canning, but I have just seen him and put it into his hands, saying that I had been prevented from attending the meeting of Mr. Plunket, or I should have taken that opportunity of explaining to him by your desire your views on his proposed question: that I could not do it better now than by putting into his hands a note which you had written to me on the subject, and which you had since desired me to show him. He immediately read your note, thanked me, and thus the matter ended. He was interrupted by persons coming to speak to him, and sitting behind him (which I did at the time), he could not well have entered into any discussion had be been so disposed, indeed there was not much to be said to me upon it.

I came to town purposely at your desire to attend Plunket's meeting, and had no conception it was a select party till I got a note from Wynn, describing it as such to me.

The King is come to town in bad humour at breaking up his Brighton party, and determined to stay as short a time, and to do as little in the way of public *appearances*, as possible, and which his Ministers are strongly urging him to do. I suppose you will come up for the Drawing-room if you don't for the Levee. We are in much better spirits, in general appearances and prospects in the House, and though Ireland will create much discussion, and also Londonderry's agriculture propositions, still there is no doubt we shall get the Session much sooner closed than usual.

You shall hear from me, if anything occurs, from day to day, before you come up.

Ever most faithfully yours,

W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall, April 25, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

It would give me the greatest pleasure to deliver your message to the King, if I could find the opportunity of any other business to desire an audience, but I think, upon consideration, you will think that it might more properly be made the subject of a letter from yourself to Sir Andrew Barnard, as Gentleman-in-Waiting, or directly to the King, than of a note from me.

I am myself such a mere novice in matters of etiquette, that I should not place the least confidence in my own judgment on such a point, but should readily submit to yours, if I had not this morning consulted my uncle Tom, who gave the same opinion which I had previously formed. I have not yet had an opportunity of any conversation with C——, having only seen him last night while I was in labour of a speech, but I shall be very glad to see the paper which you mention.

Grant's speech was excellent, better than I ever before heard from him, but I do not believe you or any other Lord-Lieutenant would like him as a secretary, as his warmest friends admit his inefficiency and idleness. His total neglect of his correspondence with this country, after repeated friendly admonition, was really inexcusable. We are nearly in the same state with respect to Lord Wellesley, which I trust is only owing to his illness. It is very well for a Lord-Lieutenant or Secretary to say that they

act on their own responsibility, but during the sitting of Parliament those upon whom that responsibility really and efficiently falls, have a *right* to expect to know their views of the situation of Ireland and of the course to be pursued. Upon none of the great points of Tithes, Magistracy, Police, &c., have we yet heard a syllable, nor any view of the state of the country, for the last month. Were Lord Wellesley well, I should certainly write to him myself to tell him confidentially the complaint which arises from his silence, but under the circumstances of his illness I had rather that even if you should write to him you should not advert to what I have mentioned. Adieu. I must go down for Reform in Parliament, which owing to Lord Londonderry's hoarseness, would rest on Peel and me, if Canning does not, as I expect, take the labouring oar, and be the grand reformer of the night.

Ever yours affectionately,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall, April 25, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

I have been to the Drawing-room and brought back for a wonder such a headache that I cannot write to you as fully as I should wish. The King only asked me how I did, but did not give me an opportunity of making your excuses. He looks well, I think, but I certainly have heard reports of dropsy on the chest, which agree too much with yours. The debate last night was very interesting. Rice, Grant, and Plunket, full of information and excellent speeches, the rest very indifferent.

Ellis's furious tirade against the Catholics laid him open to a severe drubbing from Plunket, yet to say the plain

truth, I fear that he was but too correct, and that the distinctive feature of the present conspiracy is, that in every part of Ireland it is exclusively Catholic both in its objects and composition.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

DR. PHILLIMORE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall, April 25, 1822.

MY DEAR LORD,

I take the liberty of forwarding to your Grace a copy of the speech I made on introducing my Bill to amend the Marriage Act, which I have published at the request of Lord Londonderry and others, who I presume think that the facts alluded to, and the cases cited, may essentially assist the Bill when it reaches the Upper House.

We are, I think, upon the whole going on well in the House of Commons. I confess my mind has been much relieved since the discussion on Sir John Newport's motion on Monday. Plunket's speech was everything that could be wished, and set us quite right with the House as to Ireland; it had also had the effect of indirectly giving a lift to the general question respecting the Catholics.

On my return to London last week I passed a day at Dropmore. I found Lord Grenville inclined to criticise most severely the Report of the Agricultural Committee, but exceedingly anxious on the subject of Canning's Bill. I must say I think the Agricultural Report bad in every sense, but as I apprehend Lord Londonderry does not mean to act in conformity with the spirit in which it is drawn up, I trust it will be harmless as to effect.

I suppose Canning's Bill will pass our House—it will be a severe blow to the cause if it does not; it is reported that Lambton and Co. are anxious to vote against it, because

Canning brings it in. In the House of Lords, perhaps, it will have more votes than the general question.

I cannot conclude this party communication without expressing the very sincere regret I feel that your Grace should still be suffering from indisposition, but I trust that you now only want to recruit your strength.

Believe me, your obliged and faithful,

JOSEPH PHILLIMORE.

P.S.—The speech would have been out last week, but the proofs were unfortunately sent to a wrong address to me in the country, and I was some days before I could recover them.

Political partisanship at this time sometimes exerted a pernicious influence over well-meaning men, hurrying them into the avowal of sentiments which under other circumstances they would long have hesitated to express. In this way a distinguished member of the peerage committed himself by some remarks on the conduct of the Duke of Buckingham, which the latter treated with characteristic spirit.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, April 29, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I have just seen the Duke of Bedford's answer to your last letter, which leaves you no alternative but to come to town. The whole attack has been a premeditated one, and of the most unjust and illiberal nature. I think the manner you have taken it up is honourable to your character, and what every man who has a proper feeling

must commend. The thing does not seem to have been whispered abroad.

I will come to you the moment you come to town, if you will let me know. I shall be in the House of Commons upon Canning's motion. Sir W—— W—— has acted extremely well on the occasion, and really feels as your kindest and dearest friend ought; solely occupied in the whole proceeding by a regard to your honour, and character, and feeling. Nothing, I think, could have been better than the wording of both your letters.

Ever most faithfully yours,

W. H. F.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, May 3, 1822.

I need not tell you with how deep an interest I received my brother's letter and yours this morning. I think nothing can possibly have passed more properly, or more satisfactorily, and I derive the highest pleasure from it. It is no doubt a painful thing to be reduced to this course, but whatever be the objections to it, surely those are alone answerable for them whose wanton intemperance of abuse places men under the necessity of thus acting, in self-defence. The Duke of Bedford's disavowal, in the conclusion of the business, seems to have been manly and unequivocal, and the only real atonement he could make for the original most unprovoked insult.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, May 7, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I am sure it must give you pleasure, as it does me, to hear from all sides, and all sorts of persons, one uniform

expression of approbation of your conduct. When one is forced to take a step which places one's character before the public tribunal, it is most gratifying to feel afterwards that the step has been approved and sanctioned; that this is the case, I have not the shadow of a doubt, and I would not say so to you, if I had not received the most unequivocal proofs of it. I hear that even at Brookes' the comparison is greatly in your favour. No one can deny that your adversary has retracted his words, though he has done so in the only manly and honourable manner he could do it. Yesterday Charles Long conversed with me a great deal upon it, and said you had not only done benefit to the general cause of Government, but that you had served to put down that personal and unjust mode of proceeding which was gaining ground every day. He attacked the conduct of the Duke of B——, as being most improper and unjust; he said he had had an opportunity of repeating the same language the day before to the Duke of York, who, although a great personal friend of the Duke of B——, could not but admit that you were compelled to act as you had done, and that you had done so in the most dignified and gallant manner.

I wish I could speak as flatteringly of the general conduct of the Government, but I own every day lessens my confidence in them; there is such a complete want of steadiness, and of an open manly uniformity of conduct, that I see no hopes of its going on.

Although I have sealed my letter, I write to tell you a thing I forgot—namely, that Talbot of Malahide came to me yesterday, saying he considered the question to be of a personal nature, and feeling the highest regard, affection, and gratitude to your family, he could not think of voting upon it. That his party making it a general question, he

could not vote against it, but that he should go away, which he did. I thought this a very handsome conduct, and said I should certainly take care to communicate it to you.

W. H. F.

DR. PHILLIMORE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall, May 11, 1822.

My dear Lord Duke,

Lest Wynn or Fremantle should not write to-day (for it has so happened that I have seen neither of them), I just send your Grace a few lines to say that the Catholic cause prospered last night, the numbers being for the second reading of the Bill, 235; Noes, 223. Lord Duncannon told me that he had *never* known a greater exertion made against any measure than against the second reading of this Bill. There were twenty-seven pairs in the House—*i.e.*, of persons who appeared in the House. My own idea is that all further opposition to the measure in our House will be abandoned. It certainly is most satisfactory to find the House of Commons so steady on this point; but I must own I think the experiment has been a hazardous one; if the measure had failed, the general question must have been damaged. However, the result is most favourable, and I should not be very much astonished if this Bill was to pass your House. The most remarkable incident of last night was the declaration of Mr. Skeffington (Lord Oriel's son), that he had come to the conviction that the Catholic question must be carried sooner or later.

I hear from all quarters that the Duke of York's canvass against the Bill has been most active. Peel certainly took a higher tone than he did last year. You will have heard from Wynn that the Swiss mission, the general question respecting missions, and the repeal of the Act which com-

muted offices for pensions, are to be made vital questions (as the phrase is). At this I exceeding rejoice.

The post is going out.

Believe me,

Your Grace's most faithfully,

J. PHILLIMORE.

The long threatened inquiry into the diplomatic appointment given to Mr. Henry W. Wynn came on on the 14th of May, when Mr. Lennard in the House of Commons moved for a Select Committee to inquire into the diplomatic expenses of the Government. The result is thus described:—

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Friday.

MY DEAR B——,

It was yesterday determined that the motion respecting Henry's mission on Tuesday, and the foreign missions in general for the following day, should both be considered as vital questions, decisive of the existence of the Administration. The case on the former is very strong. Londonderry will state that at the Congress of Vienna it had been decided that each of the great Powers should keep Ministers of calibre (*quere*, great bores) there. The reason of this was principally with the design of preventing the Cantons from falling back into their former dependence on France, in compliance with which it will be seen that each of them has Ministers there of the same rank with Henry. The general diplomatic arrangement was then laid before Parliament by estimate, in 1815 referred to a Committee, and acted upon. When Stratford Canning came away, the mission was first intended for Foster, then for Clanwilliam;

and if Henry had declined, it would have been given to another person.

With respect to the general question, it will be found that the expenditure is reduced 20,000*l.* below the estimate of 1815, and besides that, there will this year be the 10 per cent. upon all salaries. Lord Londonderry has to-day a meeting of all men in office to communicate this resolution to.

It is singular enough that in each of the three first divisions, upon propositions the most adverse—viz., Webb Hall's, Ricardo, and Althorpe's—the minority should have been 24, 24, and 25, though composed of perfectly different persons.

Peel shows, I think, more spirit and good judgment as to the course which we ought to pursue, than any man in the Cabinet.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, May 16, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

You will probably have heard from others the success of our whip yesterday. Nothing could be better; and, though probably our numbers may not be so many to-day, yet I should hope the relative strength of the division may be equal. The debate was all on our side, as well as the feeling of the House. Lord Nugent told me he should not vote to-day, nor should Lord Ebrington. They show their good taste in this. I understand Neville is very likely to vote with us.

We are in better spirits, though the money question still hangs a dead weight. The South Sea have refused the contract, and Lushington told me last night the Bank

would take the contract. I fear this will commit the Government more and more with the Bank, which has too much power already.

Ever yours, W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Board, May 15, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

I agree entirely with what you say in your letter to Phillimore as to the absurdity of the distinction of *vital* and *indifferent* points. All ought to be vital.

This is the course which Peel every day recommends. He has lately taken a much bolder and decided tone both in Parliament and Cabinet, and I have little doubt means to run for the lead of the House of Commons. It appears to me very probable that his object is to break up the Government, in the expectation that it will be impossible for the Opposition to substitute anything which can stand three months, and that he may then mould and form it at his pleasure. He has himself spoken to me of the advantage which would result from our retiring, and the certainty that we must return to power within three months. Does he think that that period would be sufficient for Opposition to pass the Catholic question?

Wilberforce's disclaimer of any intention to reflect on me was *ex proprio motu*. It is curious that the *Morning Chronicle*, which not only inserted the misrepresentation, but made it the object of a leading paragraph, afterwards omitted the contradiction. This I was told, but on examination find it is not true.

Report states that we are to have large divisions both to-day and to-morrow, and that all the loose fish come into our net.

Ever affectionately yours, C. W. W.

I have stated to Lord Londonderry and Peel, the impossibility of my supporting the Alien Bill, or interfering to persuade my friends to do it, but have assured them that I shall not dissuade them from it. I added that my wish would be to stay away, as I had done on the two last occasions of its renewal, but that I could not absolutely pledge myself to this, since I might be compelled to come down to answer comments on my absence.

Pray tell me whether you have procured any clue which may enable us to *patronize* a newspaper.

DR. PHILLIMORE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Doctors' Commons, May 17, 1822.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

The debate took a turn last night we had not at all anticipated. Warre never mentioned Henry Wynn but in terms of civility and courtesy, and not only disclaimed all personal attack against him, but also every imputation against the arrangements which had led to his appointment. Lord Londonderry followed Warre, and explained the case, &c., &c.; and the only other person who took any part in the debate was Lord Normanby, who distinctly also declared against all allusion to the individual who held the appointment; and he had scarcely proceeded thus far before the House became so impatient that he was all but coughed down. Under these circumstances there was no opening for any of us, which for some reasons I regret, though upon the whole nothing could be more satisfactory than the tone and temper of the debate. I think the abstinence from personal attack must have been the result of previous arrangement, probably the more sober ones refused to concur in the vote on any other terms. A weaker case was never made out. Newport stayed away. Calcraft went out just before the division. Talbot, member for the

County of Dublin, sent a message to Wynn by Plunket, to say that he would not vote against his brother. Carew, member for the County of Wexford, made a similar communication to me. Neville, I believe, voted with us; and Ebrington stayed away. Holmes told me that twenty-four came to the door after it was closed, of whom nineteen belonged to us.

The most serious business we have now to look forward to is the new financial arrangement; and I must own that I dread the difficulties in which Van may involve us.

Believe me, your Grace's very faithful,

JOSEPH PHILLIMORE.

P.S.—The whole debate last night did not occupy two hours.

The Catholic Peers' Bill stands for the third reading to-night; it is not to be opposed, at least not by those who have taken the lead against it. I hear that Lords Caledon and Gosford, Gosse and Wilton will vote for the Bill, the two first have hitherto always voted against the Catholics, the two latter have not voted on the question; an Irish bishop is also to vote with us. On the other hand, Lords Camden and Clancarty will not vote, and they have supported always the general measure. The Archbishop of York told me he thought several of the opposers of the general measure would stay away: this, I understand from other quarters, is the course he intends to adopt. Lord Grenville, I believe, will come to London for the debate in the House of Lords. I am afraid that the Bill will not be carried, but I am very sanguine in thinking that the majority in the Upper House will be very considerably diminished.

Wilberforce made a point of staying to vote with us last night.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Board, May 17.

MY DEAR B——,

I am on the whole extremely well satisfied with the issue of the two last debates, as the Opposition have entirely failed in the establishment of any case whatever, and did not appear to produce any effect on the House. Talbot of Malahide went away, expressly on the ground of declining a question which affected any connexion of yours personally. Newport also was absent, as were Ebrington and George. Neville, Wilberforce, Banks, and most of the country gentlemen voted with us. The places of several of those who stayed away from the Opposition were supplied by the Ponsonby's and Fitzwilliam's connexions, who had been absent the preceding night on account of Lord Fitzwilliam's death.

I have already told you how much embarrassment I feel about the Alien Bill. Read your own speech of the 18th of June, 1816, and mine of the 20th of May in the same year, and I think that you will agree that we are a good deal hampered.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

We read the Catholic Bill a third time to-day. I am told that the second reading in the Lords will be fixed for the 31st of May.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Board, May 20, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

The Duke of Portland has undertaken the management of Canning's Bill in the House of Lords. I fear that so

long a postponement of it as you suggest, will hardly be thought expedient for the interests of the Bill. It had been much wished that it should be brought forward this week, but on account of Epsom it has been deferred till the following Friday. I shall be very sorry if you are prevented from attending, under all the particular circumstances in which you stand, and should even think that it might be worth while for you to come up and return next day. Lord Clare, Lord Gosford, Lord Caledon, and Lord Gage are mentioned among the new votes expected, but I am told that there are ten of them. Lord Headfort's proxy has been forgotten, and as he is in Italy cannot now be obtained. Lord Camden and Lord Clancarty will not vote. Could not you get Lord Torrington's proxy? I think he used to give you charge of it. Bulkeley hangs undecided about coming or staying away. Old St. Vincent is to take his seat and make a proxy. Lord Buckinghamshire is not yet ascertained.

You do not mention anything on the subject of the Alien Bill, which, as I told you, I feel considerable difficulty about from the part which we have both taken. With respect to the Finance plan, I feel convinced that it must end where it ought to have begun, in an appropriation of part of the Sinking Fund, and that this will be done with more or less disguise and humbug, but that no regard for consistency will be sufficient to prevent a measure so essentially necessary.

I will try what I can do to obtain a postponement of the Catholic Bill for you, but have little hope of success.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

Thirty or forty years ago the public press was managed with much less talent and principle than

the respectable portion of it now possesses. Personality and scurrility appear to have gone out of fashion, and such attacks as that from which the Duke of Buckingham suffered in the columns of a provincial paper, are of very rare occurrence.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, May 21, 1822.

I learn from my brother that the Duke of Portland is to move the second reading of Canning's Bill, and that they talk of the 31st for it; that day being opportunely hitched in between the two important epochs of Ascot and Epsom. But these arrangements of days for Parliamentary business are always so uncertain, and so liable to be varied up to the last moment, that I have never found one got much previous communication of them; nor do I, to speak fairly, think that the want of it affords the smallest ground of offence. As to the yeomanry arrangements, it does not seem to me possible that the day of this motion could have been fixed in time to enable you to reconcile those two engagements.

I shall be sorry if you are absent from the discussion of this Bill, for a thousand reasons that make one wish you present at it, and I still hope you will contrive to run up for that night only. But if that really cannot be, I will very willingly hold your proxy, supposing that I do not in the interval (and it is now little likely I should) receive some one that I cannot transfer. I now hold only Lord Carysfort's.

On the other subject on which you write to me it is more difficult to advise. The least troublesome course no doubt is that which I have always pursued—to treat, and unaffectedly to consider, the whole tribe of newspaper libellers

as unworthy of the smallest notice. And this was, on the first impression, the opinion which I expressed the other day to my brother, who wrote to me on this matter, in consequence of something your son had said to him. On reflection I do not feel as sure as at first, that I was right in this opinion, as applicable to your case and to the Aylesbury paper. To any idea of a complaint against him in the House of Lords I feel utterly averse. My recollection does not serve me to remember any instance since Lord Sandwich and Bishop Warburton in the beginning of the last reign, in which the House has interfered in case of general libel. I myself brought a printer before them for an attack on Bishop Watson, but then that, if I am not mistaken, was a case of attack for words *spoken in Parliament*, and not for general political conduct. If you prosecute, the right course is certainly that of *information* in the King's Bench; for it would be most unseemly to allege that your character has really been *endamaged* by such ribaldry.

On the question itself, whether to prosecute or not, I really feel myself incompetent to advise. I have already said that my first impression was against it, but further consideration of the subject has so shaken that opinion, that I should be sorry now you laid the least stress upon it. Every man who goes into a court of law, and especially every man who attacks a newspaper there, does, under our blessed system of newspaper government, expose himself to a lottery, the chances of which no man can foresee, and out of which it would be much more desirable to keep himself. But, then, in this as in other cases, one may be driven to the wall, and obliged to do that which in itself one is far from wishing. That this is the case in this instance, certainly seems probable, and if it is, the decision is one which you alone can take for yourself; though if my own judg-

ment were fully satisfied either way, I would certainly not hesitate to let you see it.

Ever most affectionately yours,

G.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

House of Commons, May 23, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

I left your letter at Lord Bulkeley's house, and afterwards meeting him, urged him as strongly as I could to give his proxy, which, as he is applying to me for a cadetship for a Welsh lad, I could press further than I otherwise should. I am sorry to say, however, that I could not boast much of my success. He talked of the violence and bigotry of Carnarvonshire, which I do not believe really weigh with him, as they were more violent and bigoted when he formerly voted for the Catholics; but I believe the real reason is some promise which he has made to his wife. I cannot learn where Lord Torrington is in town, as he has no regular town house, but, as I am told, takes his letters at the House of Lords; so I have there left it for him. I spoke to Lord Cassilis about your proxy, which he will willingly attend to hold if necessary, but had expected you rather to give his.

The new votes mentioned besides Lord Caledon, Lord Gosport, and Lord Clare, are Lord Gage, Lord Lucan, Lord Glasgow, Lord Wilton, Lord Maryborough, Lord Ormond, and I think Lord Suffield (but I am not sure which way the late Lord voted).

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

Frankland Lewis had a bad fall yesterday in the park, and was a good deal bruised, but did not, I hope, suffer

materially. Lord Lonsdale had a worse a short time after, and broke two ribs and his collar-bone.

LORD BULKELEY TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, May 27, 1822.

MY DEAR LORD DUKE,

It is certainly most true that I promised your Grace to vote in favour of Mr. Canning's motion whenever it came into the House of Lords, and being conformable to my former votes and opinions, I should with pleasure have ranged myself under the standard of the party with which I had so long acted, had not a storm arisen in Wales on that question, in consequence of Sir Robert Williams's vote in the House of Commons, which I own to your Grace staggered my intention very much. It was plainly told me, that if I did not put water in my wine, all my popularity there would sink to the ground, and an opposition declared which would put me to great expense, and a very doubtful issue; and that it depended on my vote to allay the storm, especially as Sir Robert had raised it. At the head of these ultra anti-Catholics stand the Bishop of the diocese (Magendie), and all the parsons to a man, and Mr. Ashton Smith, Lord Kenyon, and Sir Robert Vaughan, and hundreds who look up to Lord Eldon and Mr. Peel, and who think that the King is hostile to the Catholics. I hope, therefore, I may be permitted to absent myself, as I have few days to live, and those few I can pass with tolerable goodwill in my own *natale solum*, if I do not provoke their ardent feelings on a point which they have opinions like those of the University of Oxford. In my general support of Government under your standard, my Taffies are rejoiced, but upon the Catholic question they are raving mad.

Hoping the Duchess is well, and your Grace, I am, my dear Lord Duke, with Lady B——'s joint best remembrances, Your ever faithful,

W. B.

This is the last communication the writer addressed to his friend, as he died suddenly, at the age of sixty-nine, at Englefield Green, on the 3rd of June.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, May 29, 1822.

My dear B——,

My uncle Tom writes to Lord Grenville: "My sister just tells me that she met Canning last night at Burlington House, who told her that he should write to you to-day to tell you that the Catholic question was put off in the House of Lords, in consequence of the death of Lord Grey's mother. I had heard from several people yesterday that it was not put off, and so much satisfaction was expressed at the day not being disturbed, that I am persuaded this new change will be extremely unpopular."

No letter from Canning has arrived; but this probably proceeds from his directing to Maidenhead, which was the case with the last letter he wrote to Lord G——.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

What will my worthy colleagues in the Empire of the East do about this *fracas* at Canton? Must they not shut up shop? On this head I have nothing to say to them. I am for sending out a detachment of capital convicts from the Old Bailey Sessions, since, provided they are allowed to hang a sufficient number, it is all the Chinese Government requires.

Lord Eldon had not recovered his good humour, nor reconciled himself to the new servants his sovereign had called to his counsels, and when he could not express his dissatisfaction orally, he rarely failed to do so in writing to his confidential friends—now and then, however, with characteristic caution, denying the authorship of the bad jokes he took pains to circulate.[1] The proceedings of the Legislature he regarded with real alarm whenever their object was to alter what the public voice pronounced capable of amendment, or prune what was judged superfluous. The vote of the House of Commons on the 1st of March, for discontinuing the services of one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and that given on the 2nd of May for getting rid of one of the Postmasters-General, his Lordship called "stripping the Crown naked," and represents the King as suffering from severe illness, occasioned by these attacks, as he considers them, on the Royal prerogative.[2] His acknowledged talent as a lawyer, however, joined to his earnest advocacy of the cause of which he was one of the stoutest champions, ought to suggest allowances for such harmless exaggerations.

The Catholic question having been put off in the House of Lords till the 21st of June, other questions of a more popular character, including Parliamentary Reform, the Importation of Corn, the

[1] Twiss's "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 63.
[2] Ibid., p. 64.

amelioration of the Criminal Code, the continuation of the Alien Act, the state of the Currency, and the Tithe system in Ireland, the influence of the Crown, and the suppression of the Slave Trade, came under consideration in this month.

The ball referred to in Mr. Fremantle's note, was given for the benefit of the suffering poor of Ireland at the King's Theatre, London, on the 30th of May, and produced 3500*l.*

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

House of Commons, Five o'clock.

MY DEAR DUKE,

You can have no idea of the great impression which has been made on the public mind by these two last divisions. It has given courage and unity to our people at the same time, and I trust will enable us to stem the tide which has been setting against us for the latter weeks. The great question that still hangs upon us is the annuity transaction. The South Sea don't take it; the Bank are negotiating but disinclined; and from what I hear from good quarters, it will end in its being done by the Government, and though not actually from the Sinking Fund, still with the means of applying the Sinking Fund in case of failure. The whole project is of Vansittart, and therefore to be feared, but I hope ultimately we shall get over it, and satisfy the country gentlemen by taking off 1,500,000*l.* or 1,600,000*l.* of taxes.

There is nothing material more to say. There has been a fine tripotage among the higher females about this Irish ball. The Duchess of Richmond was first applied to to be at the head, and the Duke of York was patron. All the present ladies were of her list, and had agreed to be

patronesses, when lo and behold! Lady Conyngham, not having been sent to by the Duchess of Richmond, took offence, and set up a new list, placing the King at the head, whom she commanded to go, and all these ladies turned tack directly, abandoned the Duchess, and are now of the new Government—a pretty semblance of what might occur in the male political tribe.

Ever most faithfully yours,
W. H. F.

The state of Ireland—between famine and revolution—became every day more alarming, and the influence of the Marquis Wellesley for good, appeared more problematical. At this time the Ministers were desirous that the King should pay a visit to another portion of his dominions, where a welcome awaited him not less genuine than that which had given so great a zest to his visit to Ireland; but, as will presently be seen, they had some difficulty in getting his Majesty to enter into their views.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

House of Commons' Committee Room,
Thursday morning.

MY DEAR B——,

I explained to Sir Edward East the other day, how the case stood with respect to his claim to be admitted to the Privy Council. There have been two instances which have occurred of his predecessors being so appointed. Upon Sir John Anstruther's return during Lord Grenville's administration, you must, I am sure, remember that the greatest inconvenience had arisen from the secession of Sir William

Grant, and I believe Sir William Scott, from the Privy Council, and that there were no lawyers to attend the hearing of appeals. To supply this want, and with no reference whatever to his having been Chief Justice of Calcutta, Anstruther was sworn in. Sir H. Russell returned in 1813, and three years afterwards was made a Privy Councillor for the same purpose. It therefore seems to me, that whether it be or be not thought desirable that East should hereafter receive the same mark of favour, when legal members may be wanted at that Board, it is at all events objectionable to give it at the present moment, which would establish an absolute *right* for all future Chief Justices against whom there had been no particular charge, to claim it immediately on their return. With this explanation he appeared perfectly satisfied, and desired that it might be understood to be his wish that it should not be pressed if there was any objection to it.

I send you the Irish Constables' Bill, the alterations in which have, I believe, satisfied almost all the Irishmen.

Newport went out of town yesterday. I do not myself believe in the existence of any intrigue for keeping Canning in this country. If I knew of any, I should be much disposed to join in it *openly*. Why Westmoreland should not make room for Lord Melville, who might continue to hold the sceptre of Scotland, and so leave the Admiralty to Canning, I cannot conceive. I think as ill of the latter as the K—— or you can, but it seems to me to be so much his interest to do his best, and that the gulf between him and the Reformers is so impassable, that it would be far better to admit him, and to take the benefit of service in the House of Commons, which no other man can render.

Having been bored till five this morning in the House,

I can write no more. Richard Wellesley, who is upon the Committee, tells me that his accounts of Lord Wellesley are very good, and that he is *quite well.*

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall, July 5, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

You will perhaps be surprised at not having heard from me respecting the late arrests in Ireland, but the truth is, that his Excellency is too discreet to communicate by his despatches more intelligence than appears in the Dublin newspapers, except that the evidence against these persons is so strong, that he is confident of convicting several of them. In due time he promises to send us the examinations which have been taken, and on which the men were apprehended. This, I suppose, will not be till after he has tried them.

We get on, as you will see, at a snail's pace; still I flatter myself I see many symptoms of the session drawing to a conclusion. After next week, we shall have no Irish members left, and most of the English will also have left town.

The King now again proposes going to Scotland. The visits are to be to the Duke of Athol, Duke of Montrose, Lord Mansfield, and Lord Hopetoun; perhaps Lord Breadalbane, but not to Gordon Castle or Inverary—the first on account of distance, the latter of the Duke's absence.

He has been extremely reasonable in agreeing to the postponement of a Bill enabling him to make a will, and to the alteration of one for regulating the Duchy of Cornwall, though he had got somewhat like a promise

before Christmas that they should be passed in this session.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

July 8, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

I had an audience to-day on some business of no importance, but was very graciously received. He talked to me some time about Canning, whom he abused extremely for falsehood and treachery, and expressed his opinion that he was now engaged in some intrigue or another.

The expectation of the Chancellor's retiring seems to be very general, in consequence of the undisguised irritation which he has expressed on the decision of the Marriage Bill. There certainly never has been so strong an instance of revolt among those who for so many years were the humblest of slaves.

Proxies, as you will see, were not called for. Yours was entered to Lord Wemyss, who expressed himself much flattered at holding it. I should have given it to Lord Cassilis, but that he was doubtful as to his power of attending.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Square, July 9, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

The match that has been so long pending, after a very long attachment, between the Duke of M——'s daughter and Mr. G——, is declared off, as is said, by the lady, in

consequence of the insanity *found now* to prevail in the bridegroom's family. But as all the world has long known that G——'s father shot himself, and his uncle (W——) cut his throat, it seems quite incomprehensible that this should have escaped the lady's observation till now.

A strange report was circulated of the eldest son of Lord Cassilis (Lord Kennedy) having shot at a boy in a tree and killed him. There was no boy, and no tree, and no shooting, and no possible account how such an entire fiction could have been circulated.

I am going to see our bronze Achilles[1] mount this morning upon his pedestal in the park.

Kind love to your dear wife, and God bless you!

Yours affectionately,

T. G.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, July 11, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

We have had a very severe fagging for the last ten days, but I think we have made great progress, and I have no doubt now that the House of Commons will be up at the end of this month. The King certainly does not go to Scotland, though the decision has been fluctuating for some time past. His Ministers wished him to go, and he wished not, and has been putting up his doctors to support him by ordering them to pronounce that he would suffer from the journey, fatigue, &c. I hear that, in consequence of all this, he is not quite in such good humour with them as he was. Lord Warwick, you see, has got the Lieutenancy of Warwickshire, which has offended Lord Hertford. Lord

[1] The well known figure in Hyde Park, erected in honour of the Duke of Wellington.

Liverpool has had a serious attack of inflammation in the sinew of his thigh (his old complaint); he was extremely bad for two days, but is now nearly recovered. There never was anything so strange and absurd as Lord W——'s match; it was evidently planned and forced by the S——s. After he was gone he wrote three letters, which have been seen by the person who told me—one to his mother, the Duchess of B——, saying how sorry he was to have offended her by this marriage, but he was sure she would forgive him if she could witness the happiness he then enjoyed; the second to Lord Fitzroy Somerset, saying he was the most miserable man breathing, that he had been entrapped to marry, and he should never feel a moment's happiness again; the third to Lord Alvanley, saying that he had been obliged to marry; that he begged he would let him know what was said upon it, particularly by the girls (he had been making love to Lady Caroline S——). Hoped they would not quiz him, for he was unhappy enough.

Can you fancy such folly and such profligacy? The fact is, I really believe he has got . . . . or that she made him believe it, and therefore compelled him to marry her. There is nothing but this sort of gossip stirring in town. The debates are most tedious, and the Houses very thin. I believe the Opposition as weary of it as we are. Phillimore will have some plague with his Marriage Bill, but I have no doubt will carry it, though the Chancellor is outrageous, making a prodigious noise about it, and sets up the Attorney-General to oppose it.

W. H. FREMANTLE.

The Lord Chancellor not only continued to set his face strongly against the Grenville portion of the Government; but there exists evidence that

while doing so he began to look favourably upon Opposition. He accepted an invitation to dine at Holland House, and there met, as he acknowledges, Lords Holland, Grey, Lauderdale, and "several of the Opposition."[1] A step like this from such a man, is extremely suggestive, and rumours of sweeping changes in the Administration followed, as a matter of course.

[1] See his letter to Lady Baukes, Twiss, vol. ii. p. 71.

CHAPTER IX.

[1822.]

SIR WILLIAM KNIGHTON APPOINTED KEEPER OF THE KING'S PRIVY PURSE—HIS SENSE OF DUTY SOMETIMES OPPOSED TO THE KING'S INSTRUCTIONS—HIS IMPORTANT SERVICES IN LESSENING THE ROYAL EXPENDITURE — ARRESTS IN IRELAND — CANNING AND PEEL — LAMENTABLE DEATH OF THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY—ESTIMATE OF THIS DISTINGUISHED STATESMAN—LETTER FROM THE KING ON THE SUBJECT—THE ROYAL VISIT TO SCOTLAND—SIR WALTER SCOTT'S RELIC—PROSPECTS OF THE GOVERNMENT—THEIR NEGOTIATIONS WITH MR. CANNING—HIS SPEECH AT LIVERPOOL—HE SUCCEEDS THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY AS SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

CHAPTER IX.

Sir William Knighton was appointed Keeper of the King's Privy Purse, and was employed in the most arduous labour of endeavouring to arrange the private accounts of his Majesty. While putting these affairs into a satisfactory state, he was sometimes obliged to oppose the King's inclinations—on one occasion so as to excite his displeasure. But George the Fourth was not the less partial to his servant for maintaining what was right and proper under such circumstances, despite his master's disapproval; and after one unpleasant scene of this nature, his Majesty wrote him the following note:

THE KING TO SIR WILLIAM KNIGHTON.

Carlton House, July 11, 1822,
Wednesday morning, eight o'clock.

You may easily imagine, warm and sincere as my affections are towards you, I have had but little rest since we separated last night. The feeling that I may possibly and unfortunately, in a hurried moment, when my mind and my heart were torn in fifty different ways from fifty different causes, have let an unjust or hasty expression escape me to any one, but most especially to you, whom I so truly love, and who are so invaluable to me as my friend, is to me a sensation much too painful to be endured—

therefore let me implore you to come to me, be it but for a moment, the very first thing you do this morning, for I shall hate myself until I have the opportunity of expressing personally to you those pure and genuine feelings of affection which will never cease to live in my heart so long as that heart itself continues to beat. I am much too unhappy to say more, but that I am

Ever your affectionate friend,

G. R.[1]

This communication proves that the writer was not so thoroughly selfish and heartless as he has often been represented. His correspondence with Sir William Knighton and other persons in his confidence is characterized by the same tenderness and good feeling. His Majesty sanctioned all the proceedings of his Privy Purse to put an end to abuses in his private expenditure, that had long been a source of embarrassment and vexation, and later in the year issued the following document:—

Royal Lodge, Oct. 26, 1822.

I hereby authorize and direct Sir William Knighton, Bart., Keeper of my Privy Purse, to give notice to our several tradesmen that they are not to receive orders or to furnish any articles of furniture, &c. &c. &c., or to incur any expense whatsoever from their different trades, where such expense is to be provided for by my said Privy Purse, without receiving a specific order in writing for that purpose from the said Sir William Knighton Bart.; and I do also give my authority to the said Sir William Knighton, Bart., and order and direct him, during our will and

[1] Knighton's "Memoirs," p. 118.

pleasure, to undertake the entire management of my private affairs, with a view to the observance of the most strict and rigid economy, that we may have the opportunity of relieving ourselves from certain embarrassments which it is not necessary to mention further in detail. We do therefore rely with confidence on the said Sir William Knighton for the strict performance and fulfilment of all our wishes on this head.[1]

GEORGE R.

It is but justice to add that Sir William's management worked a reform, the beneficial effects of which were acknowledged and appreciated. "I see with pleasure," writes the Duke of Clarence, "and hear with equal satisfaction how well the Privy Purse is carried on under your able management."[2] The King was not only freed from large accumulations of pecuniary liabilities, but was enabled considerably to increase his donations to public and private charities.

The new members of the Board of Control were not quite pleased with their position on their first taking office, and it is clear from their representations of the unsatisfactory state of the Government, that some of them at least were not indisposed to break the tie that connected them with it. It becomes more and more evident that the dissatisfaction of the President was leading him into a desire for change, but it does not appear that the Duke of Buckingham encouraged such speculations

[1] "Memoirs of Sir William Knighton, Bart." [2] Ibid.

—indeed, the interest taken by the Duke in politics had so greatly subsided, that he was sailing about the coast preparatory to quitting the country for an absence of considerable duration. He followed the advice given by Mr. Fremantle in a subsequent letter.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

July 15, 1822.

As far as I can judge from my conversations with Canning, he is perfectly *in earnest* with respect to his intended voyage, and much as I regret it for the country, I think that considering the great personal disinclination both of the King and (I believe) the Duke of York towards him, the unstable nature of the Government, and the state of his own affairs, the course he pursues is far the best for his own interests. I think I told you that both Liverpool and Londonderry evidently considered the completion of this appointment as a great advantage gained, and were in high spirits on the occasion.

It cannot be doubted that Peel and Lord Bathurst strongly participate in this feeling, and that the Chancellor carries it a good deal farther. Under these circumstances, the Duke of Wellington is the only man of any weight in the Cabinet, of whose co-operation in a plan for retaining Canning in this country there could be a hope, and without that, we could not hold out such a probability of success as alone could justify any communication to Canning, or expectation that he would listen to it. If it could be effected, I have no hesitation in saying that it would be a measure of great benefit to the country.

I have lately heard much general rumour of disinclination on the part of certain members of the Cabinet who are

not cordial towards us, and of Peel's having said that things would not go on well till they had got rid of the Grenvilles. This I do not believe, as he is much too cautious a man to commit himself by such a speech, but I cannot but admit that the coldness and reserve of his manner to me make me think that the opinion, though not uttered, is not unlikely to be entertained by him. He assures me that he still continues in the same complete ignorance as to the persons lately arrested in Ireland. The only depositions transmitted are those of persons who believe them to be engaged in a traitorous conspiracy for the overthrow of the Government; but what the facts against them are, whether any papers have been taken, whether any of them have given information, and even whether they have been examined before the Privy Council, the Lord Lieutenant has not judged it necessary to inform him. It is evident things cannot go on in this way, and I do not think it unlikely that Peel is lying back in order to make as strong a case as he can, before he attacks Lord W——, after which he would more easily overturn us.

The last resolution was, I believe, in favour of the visit to Scotland, but not to stir beyond Edinburgh.

I am very glad that you are satisfied with the alterations in the Irish Constables Bill. I think you quite right in your plan of writing a letter to Plunket to explain your general views with respect to Ireland. He must remember that he is Attorney-General, and from his character ought to be House of Commons Minister for that country, besides being representative of that shabby body called Trinity College. He cannot conceal from himself the resolution of the Irish members, and indeed of the House, to force the Tithe question, and that the only thing in his power to determine is, whether the Government will take the con-

duct and management of the business to themselves or leave it to the Opposition.

I have entered in this letter more fully into our position than I otherwise should, as you mention that it will reach you in *safety*. I never know exactly how far the post is to be trusted, but the time which elapses between putting in the letters and their dispatch by the mail is so *very short*, that I think, unless under very particular circumstances indeed, there can be little chance of private correspondence being violated. I know that it *can* be done, but believe it very seldom is.

Arbuthnot spoke to Phillimore of the good disposition of Lord Liverpool and Londonderry towards us, as in contrast to some other members of the Cabinet, and Plunket has evidently taken the same opinion.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Board, July 20, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

Before Plunket left town, I had a conversation with him on the subject of the Armagh arrest, mentioned in my last, and found him very much inclined to fear that it had taken place on insufficient evidence, particularly of one individual who represents himself as having become a Protestant three or four years ago, but to have continued an ostensible Papist for the purpose of penetrating and betraying the Catholic plots now carrying on. The arrest was made by a Colonel Blacker, one of the most furious Orange agents, and of course the trial must take place at Armagh, by a red-hot Orange jury, which it may be expected will convict, however slight the case may be, and which will not obtain credit for having done justice even if the evidence be sufficient.

It is scarcely possible to make any complaint of Peel's manner, as though it is cold and reserved, I should be told that it is such to others, and that to notice it would only increase the evil. The reports which I mentioned of his conversation, are such as I do not myself believe to be true, though they may be founded upon what the inventors of them believe and hope to be his ulterior wishes.

The King is to be attended in Scotland by Peel and Lord Melville, but not to pay any visits; he is to be quartered at Dalkeith, and his suite in Holyrood House. We are, in consideration of the reversal of the Scotch attainders, to signalize his visit, but this is all undecided as yet.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

House of Commons, July 23, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I have delayed answering your letter for some days, because I wished to ascertain the ground, and see how the thing looked before you ventured to take any steps with regard to communicating with so slippery and uncertain a man as C——. The fact is, you may be assured that he has the best disposition to trip these people up, but I am persuaded he will not be able to do it; and they are fully aware of his designs. My own opinion is, that no overture or communication will be had with him—there is no part of the Government who wish for his connexion. They find the strength and power of Peel have completely answered their purpose, and with more popularity and feeling of the House than the other would have done; and above all, be assured there is a mortal antipathy against C—— in the K——. All these circumstances combined

would, in my judgment, not make it worth your while to attempt any movement through him, or to have any communication with him.

I cannot but think that Wynn is gaining strength in the Cabinet, and the best support he has is, in my opinion, Lord Londonderry's, which would be totally destroyed by any underhand communication with C——; and your seeing him or corresponding with him would have that effect. I should, therefore, on the whole, strongly advise all abstainment from all connexion with him.

Things look a great deal better than they did, though the K——, I should fear, is not quite in the good humour he was. He dislikes the journey to Scotland, and I have no idea why they plagued him to take it (which is said to have been the case). The intention is now only to stay in Scotland ten days, and visit no one. Peel and Lord Melville are the Ministers who attend him. He is to make a public entry into Edinburgh, but to live entirely at Dalkeith House.

I don't know the names of all his retinue in the yacht, but Lord Fife is invited to be one of his companions, and goes accordingly. The Marchioness of C—— is going to Ireland, by Scotland, therefore I should not be surprised if *accident* brings her to Edinburgh about the same time.

We shall not adjourn this House till Friday week. I shall get out of town on Tuesday, I hope. Everybody but Hume and Bennett are sick to death of it, and literally every other Opposition man gone out of town.

I hope your sailing has done you a great deal of good, and that I shall have the pleasure of hearing you are quite re-established.

Ever most truly yours,

W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Board, July 26, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

It was yesterday determined that Lord Londonderry should attend the Congress at Vienna, upon which subject *strict secrecy* was recommended; but it was observed that it had on Tuesday night been communicated by Lord Francis Conyngham to all the ladies at the opera-house.

We have accounts of the Prince Royal of Portugal having been addressed to take on him the title of Perpetual Regent of Brazil, to which he graciously consents, provided it shall appear to be the will of the people. The probable consequence will be his exclusion from the throne of Portugal, which there has been already a strong disposition to pronounce.

The Cortes of Spain, though in possession of full evidence of the King and French Minister's share in the late attempt of the Guards to effect a counter-revolution, and even of his having placed each of his Ministers in separate confinement during the whole of the night of the attack, seem to think the time not yet ripe to get rid of him, and therefore conceal everything. If they are obliged to dispose of him before the country will allow them to proclaim a republic, they are many of them disposed to propose a union of the Peninsula under the King of Portugal, as the most inefficient shadow of royalty that can be set up.

Bobus Smith the other night proposed a caricature of a private conference between Hume and Vansittart as a dialogue of penny-wise and pound-foolish.

I see no reason to doubt Canning's going to India. His writ will, I believe, be moved the last day of the session, and as the K—— is going for Scotland immediately after-

wards, there will be no room left for intrigue to avert it. The Duke of Wellington is the only one who has appeared to me at all sensible of the loss we shall experience in him, and he speaks of him as being nearly useless out of the walls of the House.

The town was startled in the month of August by a terrible incident. The Marquis of Londonderry, on the 12th of the month, terminated his existence by his own hand, at one of his residences, North Cray Farm, near Bexley, Kent, in the fifty-third year of his age. The elevated position he had filled for many years in the Government of this great empire, had made him a prominent mark for the malicious shafts of those who had, or fancied they had, an interest in opposing his policy. During his long and most honourable career, no statesman had accomplished such a series of important services. The Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland, had it been suffered to bear the fruit which only came to perfection thirty years later, was a measure of such vital importance to the State, that its successful settlement under the extraordinary circumstances which attended its discussion, entitled him to rank with the ablest ministers of his time; but eminently sagacious and beneficial as was this measure, it was thrown into the shade by the success of subsequent calculations of Lord Castlereagh, first as Secretary-at-War, and then as Foreign Secretary, which effected the overthrow of that brilliant genius by whom his country had so

long been menaced. These services appear to have called into existence hosts of political enemies, imbued with the vindictive spirit that prevailed at this period, from whose attacks he was rarely free. They included in their ranks many of a younger generation of adventurers—quite as depreciatory in their opinions, if not as malicious—who regarded his downfall as affording an opening in the direction of place and power. Nothing could exceed the manliness of his bearing in the unequal conflict in which every session he found himself engaged, unless it is to be looked for in the inexhaustible amiability that characterized his relations with the most implacable of his foes. It is, however, evident that as his health began to fail from the long course of exhausting labours which his office imposed upon him, he became more sensitive to such provocations, and though he carefully concealed it from outward view, an increasing irritability affected his whole nervous system.

The melancholy result, though unfortunately too easily explained, excited reports as ingenious as malevolent, to account for its suddenness, but like the injustice to his memory he has received from rivals or successors, who sought to raise a reputation by advocating an adverse policy, they had but a brief existence. As a statesman, as a gentleman, as a man, the Marquis of Londonderry was the Bayard of political chivalry, *sans peur et sans reproche*, and it reflects no slight disgrace on this

monument-rearing age, that neither in the land of his nativity nor in that of his adoption has any memorial been raised worthy of his fame.

The characters of few public men have been so unfairly treated; his political opponents, numbering among them many writers of great ability and influence, have allowed their judgments to be warped by party animosity, and have descended to misrepresentation to an extent truly pitiable. Thus his countrymen have received impressions of his policy and administrative capacity during his long and arduous career, totally at variance with the truth.[1] One writer of eminence has, however, recently stepped forward to uphold his fame with emphatic earnestness, and we make no apology for inserting here his estimate of this distinguished and much-maligned statesman:

"His whole life was a continual struggle with the majority of his own or foreign lands: he combated to subdue or to bless them. He began his career by strenuous efforts to effect the Irish Union, and rescue his native country from the incapable Legislature by which its energies had so long been repressed. His mature strength was exerted in a long and desperate conflict with the despotism of revolutionary France, which his firmness as much as the arm of Wellington brought to a triumphant issue; his latter days in a ceaseless conflict with the

[1] His best advocate will be found in "The Castlereagh Despatches," in twelve volumes, edited by his brother, the late Marquis.

revolutionary spirit in his own country, and an anxious effort to uphold the dignity of Great Britain and the independence of lesser States abroad. The uncompromising antagonist of Radicalism at home, he was at the same time the resolute opponent of despotism abroad. If Poland retained after the overthrow of Napoleon any remnant of nationality, it was owing to his persevering and almost unaided efforts, and at the very time when the savage wretches who raised a shout at his funeral were rejoicing at his death, he had been preparing to assert at Verona, as he had done to the Congresses of Laybach and Troppau, the independent action of Great Britain, and her non-accordance in the policy of the Continental sovereigns against the efforts of human freedom.

"His policy in domestic affairs was marked by the same far-seeing wisdom, the same intrepid resistance to the blindness of present clamour. He made the most strenuous efforts to uphold the Sinking Fund—that noble monument of Mr. Pitt's patriotic foresight; had those efforts been successful, the whole National Debt would have been paid off by the year 1845, and the nation *for ever* have been freed from the payment of thirty millions a-year for its interest. He resisted with a firm hand, and at the expense of present popularity with the multitude, the efforts of faction during the seven trying years which followed the close of the war, and bequeathed the constitution, after a season of peculiar

danger, unshaken to his successors. The firm friend of freedom, he was on that very account the resolute opponent of democracy, the insidious enemy which, under the guise of a friend, has in every age blasted its progress and destroyed its substance. Discerning the principal cause of the distress which had occasioned these convulsions, his last act was one that bequeathed to his country a currency adequate to its necessities, and which he alone of his Cabinet had the honesty to admit was a departure from former error. Elegant and courteous in his manners, with a noble figure and finely chiselled countenance, he was beloved in his family circle and by all his friends, not less than respected by the wide circle of sovereigns and statesmen with whom he had so worthily upheld the honour and dignity of England." [1]

Lord Londonderry's colleagues entertained a similar opinion:—"Our own country and Europe," writes one of the most sagacious of them, "have suffered a loss, in my opinion irreparable. I had a great affection for him, and he deserved it from me, for to me he showed an uniform kindness, of which no other colleague's conduct furnished an example." [2]

The King had proceeded a few days before, on a visit to his Scottish dominions, and the startling news reached him soon after the *Royal George* had

[1] Alison's "History of Europe," vol. ii. p. 526.
[2] Twiss's "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 73.

dropped her anchor at the termination of the voyage. His Majesty, fully impressed with the irreparable nature of his loss, hastily wrote to the most influential members of the Cabinet, to deprecate any hasty arrangement. We quote the following:—

THE KING TO LORD ELDON.

Royal George Yacht, Leith Roads,
Aug. 15th, half-past eight P.M. 1822.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have this moment heard from Liverpool of the melancholy death of his and my dear friend, poor Londonderry. On Friday was the last time I saw him; my own mind was then filled with apprehensions respecting him, and they have, alas! been but too painfully verified. My great object, my good friend, in writing to you to-night, is to tell you that I have written to Liverpool, and I do implore you not *to lend yourself* to any arrangement *whatever*, until my return to town. This, indeed, is Lord Liverpool's own proposal, and as you may suppose, I have joined *most cordially* in the proposition. It will require the *most prudent foresight* on my part, relative to the new arrangements that must now necessarily take place. You may easily judge of the state of my mind.

Ever, believe me,
Your sincere Friend,
G. R.

The King's intention to visit the northern portion of his kingdom, made there as great a stir as had been created by his previous one to Ireland. Sir Walter Scott was at the time in Edinburgh, and took a prominent part in the preparations that were making in the Scottish capital to receive its So-

vereign, and on the royal yacht coming to anchor in Leith Roads, he was the first Scotsman to venture on board, on a very rainy day (August 15th), to present his Majesty with a St. Andrew's Cross in silver, from the ladies of "Auld Reekie." The King, much gratified, invited the novelist to drink his health in a bumper of whisky, which having done, the latter requested permission to keep the glass as a relic to hand down to his posterity. This having graciously been granted, he put it very carefully in his pocket, and took his leave. On returning home, he found Crabbe the poet, who had just arrived from his English home, to pay a long promised visit; and Sir Walter was so earnest in welcoming his guest, that the precious relic was forgotten, till sitting down suddenly he crushed it to atoms, not without inflicting on himself a severe scratch from the sharp fragments.[1]

The King delighted his Scottish subjects by wearing the Highland garb, in which he was very carefully dressed by the Laird of Garth, but the pride of the Macgregors and Glengarries who thronged around the royal person, suffered a serious blow when a London alderman entered the circle clothed in a suit of the same tartan. The portly figure and civic dignity of Sir William Curtis gave to the costume too much the appearance of a burlesque to pass unnoticed either by the Sovereign or his loyal admirers, and it was some time before they

[1] Lockhart's "Life," vol. v. p. 195.

recovered their gravity. On the 24th, the magistrates of "the gude town" entertained the King with a banquet in the Parliament House, in the course of which his Majesty gave as a toast, "The Chieftains and Clans of Scotland, and prosperity to the Land of Cakes." The King did not quit his Scottish dominions till the 29th, when he embarked from Lord Hopetoun's seat on the Firth of Forth, previously directing a letter to be written to Sir Walter Scott by Sir Robert Peel, expressing his warm personal acknowledgments for the deep interest he had taken in every ceremony and arrangement connected with his Majesty's visit.[1]

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Friday.

MY DEAR B——,

I have only time to write one hurried line to say that I am in town, but know nothing. Lord Liverpool very cast down, and depressed in the extreme. No arrangement or preparatory discussion to take place till after the King's return, and till we are collected from the different quarters in which we are at present scattered. The Duke of Wellington is expected back to-night or to-morrow, and is immediately to be dispatched with the instructions which had been prepared for Lord Londonderry, to Vienna.

I think that though nothing can absolutely be determined in the absence of Peel, Lord Harrowby, and Lord Melville, there still must be something substantially un-

[1] Lockhart's "Life," vol. v. p. 215.

derstood before the Duke will turn his back on England, and this something *must*, I am convinced, be Canning. What other changes may take place cannot yet be foreseen, but from a word which Lord Liverpool dropped, I think he anticipates more than simply a new Secretary.

The funeral takes place on Tuesday, by Lady Londonderry's particular desire, in the Abbey ! ! ! I think it most unwise to run the chance of the insults of a London mob on such an occasion.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, Aug. 20, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I came to town last night for the funeral, and am returning this instant. I find Wynn has written to you, and I hope you will go to him at Broadstairs; he is *quite satisfied* with the prospect, though of course nothing is or can be arranged till the King's return. I was at Dropmore; your uncles both think it would be worse than nothing to attempt a Government without Canning, and such seems to be the opinion of everybody, such was the language of *all* the official men this morning. But after all, I fear we shall not, even with Canning and Peel, and even Grant in addition, be altogether so well off as with Londonderry. His rank, his long standing, the sort of authority and power he possessed, all contributed to his advantage and that of the Government.

Ever most truly yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Aug. 20, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

The formal determination transmitted to the King is, that there shall be not only no arrangement but no discussion till his return. The real effect of which is only to enable Lord Liverpool to lock himself up, and decline talking to those whom he wishes to avoid, among whom I must reckon myself. I have, however, seen the Duke of Wellington and Frederick Robinson, and had much conversation with both of them, and the result of the whole is very satisfactory to me so far as it goes. Neither of them seems to anticipate the possibility of any other arrangement, but that of Canning succeeding to the lead of the House of Commons, and the Duke of Wellington expressed much anxiety that he should also succeed to the vacant seals.

He showed me, however, the King's letter, which seems distantly to allude to objection to Canning for that particular department. This, however, he thinks, can be overcome, and I am therefore the more pleased that he remains till after the King's return, instead of proceeding immediately to Vienna. I should I believe myself, if Canning could be induced to accept the Exchequer (which at one time he certainly was ready to have done), with the lead of the House of Commons, like to transport Nic Van to India, send Lord Bathurst to the Foreign Department, Robinson to the Colonial, and Huskisson to the Board of Trade.

The strongest proof to me of the universal impression of the necessity of consigning the lead of the House of Commons to Canning, and that the No Popery party will not venture to propose Peel, was, that I found Westmoreland, with whom I was associated in the funeral this morning, quite of that opinion. Now, if the Chancellor were

intriguing for Peel, would he not have secured Westmoreland.

I concur very much in your view of the impropriety of remaining in an Administration, *both* the leaders of which are the most decided opponents of the Catholic question, and intimated as much to Robinson, who appeared to feel the similarity of his own situation. I have had much conversation also with an intimate personal friend of Peel's, whose opinion it was that Peel would be by no means desirous of undertaking the lead, as independent of other objections, his health was not sufficiently strong to admit of his assuming functions so laborious and incessant.

The King has mentioned his intention of leaving Edinburgh as on Saturday next. Poor Liverpool's bridal ideas have been quite driven out of his head, and I do not yet hear of a fresh day for consummation being fixed. I am very sorry for the public effect of the visit to Bowood at this time, but it had been fixed I believe before Lord Londonderry's death, and Lord G—— does not feel any necessity of extending to Opposition any of that coyness he shows towards Government. Both my uncles are fully satisfied of the absolute necessity of Canning's leading the House of Commons, and probably the more so from his having lately paid a visit of two days to Dropmore.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, Aug. 21, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I have received your letter, which, according to your permission, I have communicated to Lord Liverpool. When the deplorable event occurred which gave reason for

your writing it, Lord Liverpool requested the King not to consider of the measures to be adopted to fill the situation in H. M.'s Councils which had been held by Lord Londonderry, till H. M. should return to London, and he assured the King that he likewise on his part would take no step whatever on the subject till he should have the honour of seeing his Majesty. This matter then stands exactly as it did on the day of the fatal catastrophe, and so will remain till the King's return.

Lord Liverpool is very anxious that your Grace, and those who wish well to the Government, should take no step and make no declaration previously to his Majesty's return, which might embarrass the Government or themselves. He hopes that you will so far confide in him as to be certain that he will do what he ought upon this occasion, and you may rely upon his taking the earliest opportunity of making you acquainted with the steps which he will have taken.

Believe me, my dear Duke,

With the most sincere respect and affection,

Ever yours most faithfully,

WELLINGTON.

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS, K.G., TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I beg that you will assure Lord Liverpool that nothing could be further from my intention or my wishes, than to hasten forward any discussion or precipitate any decision respecting the steps to be taken to complete and strengthen the Government under existing circumstances: on the contrary, no one is more convinced than I am of the absolute necessity of the Government having most mature deliberation on this very momentous question. For this very

reason I thought it due to Lord Liverpool that he should at as early a moment as possible be put in possession of the sentiments and feelings of those connected with his Government, provided you thought mine of sufficient importance to be transmitted to him.

Believe me always yours sincerely,

B. C.

Of Canning at this period one of his intimate friends thus speaks:—"Great as his talents for Parliament are, and great as is the want of them on the Ministerial side of the House, it is not without the utmost reluctance that the rest of the Cabinet will consent to receive him as an associate. If they make him any proposal, it will be only because they are forced to it by the opinion and wishes of their own friends, and if they make him a *fair* proposal, it will be a clear proof that they think that the Government cannot go on without his aid."[1]

A little later we learn from the same authority: "The delay that has taken place in filling up the very important station that was held by Lord Londonderry is itself a pretty good proof of the embarrassment of the King and his Ministers. Canning will be a bitter pill to them, and yet I am more inclined than I was at first to think that they will swallow it. I give Canning full credit for what he declared at Liverpool, that he *knew nothing;* and yet without imputing to him any Jesuitical reservation,

[1] Lord Dudley's "Letters," p. 351.

I consider his speech to be that of a man who thought that he was more likely to come in than not."[1]

Canning knew well enough that he had only to wait, and the necessities of the Government, notwithstanding the aversion of the majority, would force him into the position his great rival had left vacant. Many persons of influence shared in this conviction, and though far from cordial in their admiration for this political leader, they were eager to adopt him as their colleague or superior, seeing no other assistance at hand so capable of advancing their particular policy.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Broadstairs, Aug. 24, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

My letter of yesterday will have sufficiently put you in possession of my opinion, that although I agreed in the principle of your letter, yet the addressing it under the present circumstances to the D—— of W——, and through him to Lord Liverpool, was premature. They seem to have thought the same, though I wish they had expressed it in a manner less unambiguous.

It is difficult to make up one's mind whether it would, on the whole, be more desirable to see Canning at the Exchequer or in the Foreign Office. I rather believe that by Huskisson's assistance he would discharge the duties of the former office better than the latter, to which the disinclination of Carlton House and the very unconciliating style

[1] Lord Dudley's "Letters," p. 356.

of correspondence in which he indulges himself (and of which the records of the Board of Control have shown me some specimens) are great objections. If, indeed, the arrangement which I chalked out in a former letter for the promotion of Lord Bathurst, Robinson, Huskisson, and either W. Lambe or C. Grant, could take place, I should have no doubt that it would be best to give Canning the Exchequer. But if the result should be, as many anticipate, to consign the Foreign Seals to your friend the D—— of W——, it is not easy to decide whether the inconvenience of that appointment would not counterbalance the benefit of removing Van.

From being in the first coach, I could see little of the behaviour of the mob at the funeral, but all that I saw or heard was perfectly proper till the moment of the removal of the *coffin* from the hearse to enter the Abbey, when a Radical yell was set up from St. Margaret's churchyard.

Lady Londonderry's wish that he should be interred in Westminster Abbey, and with the pomp of a private funeral, seems to me extraordinary, and under the unfortunate circumstances of his death, very ill-judged. I had myself proposed, in order to obviate the possibility of any expression of hostile or disrespectful feeling, that the body should at once have been brought on the preceding night to the Jerusalem Chamber, instead of to his house in St. James's-square, and that the procession should be formed from thence on foot.

Sunday, 25th.

A letter from town this morning tells me that the King is not to leave Edinburgh till the 28th, which will of course extend my stay at this place. Everything leads me to believe that the discussion will rather turn on the par-

ticular official situation to be held by Canning, than on the vesting in him the lead of the House of Commons, the necessity of which seems to be so generally and strongly felt, that opposition to it must be ineffectual. At the same time nothing is yet known of Peel's sentiments, and there will not be wanting those among his friends who will urge him to refuse serving *under* Canning.

Have you any ground for mentioning Harrowby as a decided opponent of C——'s admission? I should have thought that agreement on the Catholic question would have reconciled him to it.

Ever most faithfully yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall, Sept. 3, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

My principal reason for doubting the expediency of your step was, that if, as I believed, the view which you yourself took was also entertained by those to whom you addressed it, the declaration which it contained might have been reserved, to be afterwards brought forward in support of them, when it might be better applied to the existing circumstances. My own inclination is to consider the offer of the lead to Canning as indispensable, and that no other proposition should be offered as an alternative. Yet, did he or any one else ever give a proof of worse judgment than his speech at Liverpool, in which he recommends a compromise, and that the question should be allowed to rest after "*perhaps*" one more general discussion? Admitting that the advice might be good if addressed to the Catholics, his bringing it into his Liverpool speech at the present moment is just the way to defeat his object, and to persuade

the Catholics that he is ready to sacrifice them to his own objects of ambition.

Matters are but little advanced, that is to say, that Lord L—— has laid the proposition of an application to Canning before the K—— this morning, and desired him to take till Thursday to consider it, and to consult any others of his servants. This makes me feel strong hope that none of them have decidedly opposed it. Repugnance was expressed, but I see that L——[1] as well as W——[2] thinks that it will finally succeed. To-morrow we are to have a Cabinet, which, but for the delight of procrastinating everything, might just as well have been held yesterday or on Sunday.

L—— distinctly stated to me, that he felt that the country could not be satisfied unless a proposal were made to Canning, but referred to the possibility of his insisting on unreasonable conditions. Should this be the case, I can only say *alors comme alors*, and that the course to be pursued must depend on the peculiar circumstances which one cannot anticipate.

Ever affectionately yours,
C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Sept. 8, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Having had nothing to communicate I have not written to you; indeed now there seems nothing to discuss till you know the terms on which Canning is to come in; I have no doubt the offer is, the Chancellorship of the Exchequer and lead of the House of Commons, and Cabinet for Huskisson or any one other friend. Whether he will think this enough

[1] Lord Liverpool. [2] The Duke of Wellington.

I doubt; I am rather confident from what I have heard, that he will not surrender the foreign seals to anybody but the Duke of Wellington. I have no doubt they are intended for Lord Bathurst. He must feel and know we cannot do without him, and having so good a thing in his present possession, he will of course not accept office but in such a way as shall fully meet his wishes. The King sent for the Duke of York, who, with the Chancellor, will, I am sure, throw every difficulty in the way, though they must know that nothing but his connexion can save and support the Government. The arrangement of getting rid of *Van* would certainly be the most eligible and satisfactory to the public that could be adopted. The Duke of Wellington has been seriously ill, but is now better. Whether this will impede his expedition to Vienna I know not, but should not think it would. The King is most delighted with his expedition to Scotland, preferring it infinitely to his Irish jaunt; this will not please *Paddy*.

I should be delighted to hear that Nugent got Ireland, but I am sure his rank is now too high, the station has been lowered to a *commanding* officer only, and a full General's staff is not allowed. The Duke and Duchess of Gloucester are come to Bagshot; they seem to think the *Regnante* is losing ground; I don't believe one word of it, indeed I am quite sure of the reverse.

Ever most faithfully yours,

W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Sept. 10, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

A communication to Canning was authorized on Sunday, and he may be expected in town I believe to-night. The proposal is to succeed Lord Londonderry in all respects, and

there I fear it stops, and that there will be resistance to the stipulation which will probably be pressed for Huskisson's promotion.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Sept. 12, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I find the offer is made to Canning for the full succession to Lord Londonderry in his office, and leader of the House of Commons; this, as far as it goes, is a measure that will strengthen the Government, but I was in hopes it would be followed up by the resignation of *Van;* however, if it should not now happen, the thing must ere long—it is not likely that Canning will do his business in the House of Commons as Londonderry did, and even if he were so inclined, I should think that Van with a grain of spirit would not allow him to do so. It will be curious to see how the Chancellor reconciles himself to his quondam associate, after the last speech of Canning. I am told it has been the most bitter pill for the K—— to swallow, and nothing but necessity has induced him. I have no idea that Canning can refuse such a proposal; he can never have a greater situation, for in fact he becomes at once the chief of the Government. Surely Van could be tempted by India, he would make an excellent Governor-General, and Robinson or Grant a much better Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Ever, my dear Duke,

Most faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

MY DEAR B——,

Canning is just sworn in. The language of Lord Liverpool and others is that the consideration of any other changes is postponed, and that it was particularly desirable that Canning's appointment should not be clogged by any other discussion. The Chancellor did not attend the Council to-day—indeed, we had only Liverpool, Van, Lord Bathurst, Westmoreland, Robinson, Canning, and myself, all the rest being out of town.

Melville will have the offer of India if he wishes it, but he has before refused it when pressed, and if otherwise disposed at present, would hardly have started back for Scotland the moment Canning notified his acceptance. However, till he sends his answer, nothing further will be done, and by that time, if the Speaker wishes it, he will probably make it known.

I do not, however, hear anything of the Chancellor's resignation, but everything points, I trust, to Van. Lord Redesdale is quite superannuated, and nothing would seem to me so impossible as his appointment.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, Sept. 14, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

You will be anxious to learn the result of the discussions with Mr. Canning, and I have great pleasure in informing you that he has accepted the Foreign Office, and is to lead in the House of Commons.

This was settled yesterday, but as I have been confined

to my house, I did not hear it till it was too late to write to you by last night's post.

I hope to be able to set out for Vienna on Monday.

Believe me, my dear Duke,

Ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

"The bitter pill" was at last swallowed by the King, and despite of both open and concealed hostility from persons of influence very near the Royal person, Mr. Canning filled the important position in the Cabinet left vacant by the late Marquis of Londonderry. The reader will presently see how soon he won powerful friends at Court; but superior as he may have been in some things, his subsequent career shows—what indeed his previous political life prominently indicates—that there were other qualifications, less brilliant but more useful, possessed in an eminent degree by his predecessor, in which he was singularly deficient.

CHAPTER X.

[1822.]

MR. CANNING AGAIN IN THE CABINET — RUMOURED MINISTERIAL ARRANGEMENTS—MR. CANNING OFFERS MR. WILLIAMS WYNN THE SPEAKERSHIP OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS — A POLITICAL RUSE— THE KING AT WINDSOR—THE SPEAKER—FOREIGN AFFAIRS — PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONGRESS OF VERONA RESPECTING SPAIN—MR. HENRY WILLIAMS WYNN'S PROPOSED DIPLOMATIC CHANGE—MR. CANNING'S UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE—CONDITION OF IRELAND —M. VILLELE.

CHAPTER X.

THE addition of Mr. Canning to the Government was regarded with different sentiments when looked at from different points of view. His brilliant talents and great popularity were recognised advantages, but then the necessity by which he might consider himself bound to put forward an original policy, made reflecting politicians regard his appointment with distrust. He appears to have exhibited a wish to serve some members of the Grenville family, though not in the required direction. Mr. Charles Williams Wynn was ambitious of filling the distant but lucrative post to which the new Foreign Secretary had been appointed before Lord Londonderry's death, but Mr. Canning suggested a position scarcely less honourable at home. How these and other negotiations proceeded, may be learnt from the following letters:—

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Sept. 19, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Charles Wynn, I am told by my servant, called on me here yesterday, and was anxious to see me. Probably it was to communicate some change or probable change. I

should be very happy to hear that he got India, if he wishes it; the situation to a younger brother with a family, is undoubtedly most valuable, and at his age would be a most flattering station. I doubt greatly, however, his success, for I am thoroughly aware that the Directors hated our appointment at the Board, and I see no reason to imagine that the President or the Board have made themselves more popular with them. I do not say the contrary, but there has been no opportunity, and the little discussions which have taken place have been rather of a controversial nature. Lord Maryborough wants it, but I think wont succeed: Lord Melville, I am *almost certain*, will not take it. Vansittart would be the best appointment (supposing Charles Wynn can't succeed), and by this means we should get rid of a great encumbrance to the Government. I understand Lord Liverpool will *not* have Huskisson, and the King does not approve of his being in the Cabinet; but this, however, would be easily got over by making Robinson or Grant Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Huskisson Board of Trade and Treasurer of the Navy. The King comes to the Cottage on Saturday, and has at present determined to stay five weeks. The Regnante comes also.

Ever faithfully yours,

W. H. F.

Lord Harrowby is the candidate for the Garter, which, if he don't get, I think will drive him from the Government. This would be the best opening for you, if the Admiralty or Ireland does not offer. Lord Hertford and the Duke of Portland are also talked of for the Garter.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Sept. 23.

MY DEAR B——,

I am, I think, at length perfectly *au fait* of the arrangement which is desired, and the motive for proposing it. Canning is most anxious, by any means, to procure my resignation of my present appointment, in order that it may fall to Huskisson, who particularly desires it. Last night I received the enclosed from C——, together with the letter from Lord G——, which I also send to you,[1] and this morning met L—— and C—— accordingly. The former told us that he had, as he anticipated, received a decided refusal from Scotland, and we then entered on the discussion of the different candidates. C—— said that in his conversation with the Directors, when he informed them of his resignation, he found that their first preference would be for Lord Melville; 2ndly, very strongly in favour of Lord W. B——;[2] 3rdly, Lord Amherst; that if none of these were offered to them they would accept the Speaker, but that it was clear that no other candidate would go down without a considerable struggle. I expressed my own opinion of the insufficiency of the Speaker for a post of so much importance, and my fear that a man naturally indolent, would in so indolent a climate be wholly inefficient, and rather recommended Lord W. B——. C——, in reply, dwelt not on Sutton's fitness for India, but his unfitness for the Chair. Perceiving his drift, I suggested the possibility for replacing him there by William Courteney, but C—— immediately said, that unless it would lead to my accepting the Chair, he did not think that there was any reason to

[1] The enclosures have not been preserved.

[2] Lord William Bentinck.

make it worth while to remove S——. I adverted to some of the reasons, which we have already talked over, which indisposed me to the change, and they then desired me to take a week to consider the subject, and if I liked it to talk to Lord Grenville after his return from Elton.

I hear from other quarters, that there is a strong party among the Directors disposed to object to me if I am proposed for India. It is, indeed, possible that if I held that out as the only condition upon which I would give up this office, Canning might, by the exertion of his personal influence among them, carry the question; but I doubt much whether, even supposing I was more anxious to obtain it than I am, it would be creditable to me or to any President of the Board of Control, to have his nomination the subject of a struggle, which, if it should succeed on the part of the Directors, and he should continue in office, must render all future intercourse acrimonious and unconciliating.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Sept. 26, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

The communication you have made to me is not a matter of surprise, for I own I expected this would be the result. The proposition, however, being now made by one Cabinet Minister to Lord Grenville, and communicated by another to you, see how I should stand committed if I were to meddle with it by asking an interview with Lord Liverpool. In the former case Lord Liverpool opened the proposition to me, and it was my duty to lay it before you, even before I spoke to Lord Grenville; but in this case Wynn has informed you of it, and he would have a right to demand why I presumed to communicate at all with Lord Liverpool without his authority or permission, on a subject

so deeply involving his interests and wishes. By his communication to you, he has entitled you to write to Lord Liverpool, as you have done to Canning, expressly stating your views and feelings on the subject; and I am witness that a station in the Government was undoubtedly one of the primary objects of your contemplation in the former negotiation. I have no doubt that if I were to see Lord Liverpool, even under your authority, he would treat it as a Cabinet question, and refuse to enter into any discussion with me upon it, but I am quite sure I could not discuss it without touching upon the views and objects of Charles Wynn in a way that might offend him; it is an object of such moment and importance to him, that I cannot be surprised that he receives it so favourably. I heard from him the moment he came to town, telling me he was quite sure the Directors would not nominate him, but he says nothing of the new proposal, and probably it had not then been made, or if so, he did not choose to confide it to me. With regard to the advantages the Government derived from his efforts as a speaker on the Treasury Bench during last session, it must be obvious to you as it was to him, that he failed altogether. The difference which you point out, as to the effect this change would have on the Catholic question, may to a certain degree be past, but still I think, *as a Speaker*, his influence would have much more weight than even if he remained in Cabinet. The question is also one which materially affects Lord Grenville's support of the Government; and Canning, Lord Liverpool, and Wynn are now evidently treating with a view of connecting your uncles more closely with them; also you must consider that Plunket, who is also the organ of your party, still commands this question.

I know you will say, and feel naturally, that these consi-

derations have nothing to do with your personal objects, and the claim which you have to Cabinet; but on the other hand the Government will feel that if they can more strongly and generally unite your family interests with theirs, it is the best course they can pursue. I cannot think that the public would view this transfer of Cabinet to the Chair as a sale of your support, originally contemplated, for this distinct object and your Dukedom; nobody could have calculated on anything occurring which would induce Manners Sutton to quit the Chair, and surely there is no trafficking on your part or that of your family for the object; the proposition comes to you, and is always to be so stated and avowed. I take it for granted the difficulty is opening a Cabinet office; Lord Wellesley could not be removed without disgracing him, unless he applies for recall, and I should presume Lord Harrowby has no disposition to retire.

I see how very difficult your situation is, for in resisting this arrangement you bar the anxious wishes and hopes of Charles Wynn, and in giving way to it you for a time put by your claim, but at the same time it is but for a time, for it makes it stronger whenever the vacancy occurs. I cannot, however, concur in thinking the public would condemn you, or think it was an excess *of job* if the proposition is acceded to, for it must always be Canning's *job*, and not yours. I trust you will give me credit for the motives which I have placed before you, as inclining me to hesitate in writing to Lord Liverpool; I really hope on reflection you will see them in the same point of view.

Believe me ever, my dear Duke,

With sincere attachment and affection,

Most faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Sept. 26, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

Enclosed I send you a letter which I yesterday received from Lord G——, together with the draft of my answer,[1] in which I have expressed myself fully. You will see that I had anticipated a part of your feelings upon the proposed plan, though I speak of them as likely to arise hereafter instead of at present. What has most struck me in all that has passed, is the manner in which Canning has assumed to himself, even in the presence of Lord Liverpool, the tone and authority of Premier.

You will see I mention in my letter to Lord G—— my opinion of the manner in which he has put off seeing me as a mark of disinclination. On Monday, the business was scarcely commenced when he expressed his wish to discuss foreign business with Lord L—— before he left town, in order to get rid of me. Knowing that the latter was not to return to town during the week, I expressed my wish for further discussion with C——, and asked him when he could see me. He said Tuesday was foreign post day, Wednesday he had several appointments, and then named to-day. Yesterday I had a note from him that he wished to shut himself up to-day, and to-morrow to write to the Duke of Wellington, and naming Saturday. Now, considering that we have as yet had no discussion whatever on the general state of things, I think this is, to say the best, unconciliating conduct. Still, on Saturday I will endeavour either to lead or to force him upon different subjects, and particularly on the Catholic question, which will naturally arise out of your letter. His want of judg-

[1] Enclosures not preserved.

ment is such, that I really think it is an even chance that in the first session he gets into some difficulty from which he cannot extricate himself, and in which his friends will delight to leave him. If he survives that, I expect him to govern the House with a rod of iron, and fix his power absolutely. He seems to me fully aware of the weakness of character he has to deal with, and that the assumption of power will probably confer it. I am to see the Chairman of the E. I. C. alone to-morrow, and probably shall from him learn more of the feelings of the Directors than C—— has communicated to me.

Ever most truly yours,
C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Sept. 28, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

I read part of your letter to C—— to-day, but did not show it to him, as there were parts of it which I thought referred rather too much to topics which are private to ourselves, and my uncle Tom had particularly entered his *veto* against communicating the reference to his letter. I saw it discomposed him extremely, and he agreed that it would be necessary for me to see Lord Liverpool and talk the matter over with him before it goes any further. He told me that previous to making this proposal, he had ascertained that the Directors would not be disposed to send me to India, and that their motive to accept the Speaker would only be with the view of making room here for Huskisson. That he had originally determined before he came to town to have stipulated for the promotion of Huskisson before he made himself "the immense sacrifice he did in accepting office," but that the concurrent opinion

of his friends had deterred him from this, and that he was most especially moved to it by your letter to Lord Morley, which had peculiar weight with him, and that now, standing as he did single in the Cabinet, he felt that he was entitled to have every facility afforded him for that purpose, or that it might still be necessary for him to retire.

I have written to Lord L—— to offer to go down to Combe Wood to-morrow, as I am sure it is desirable to bring the matter to an upshot one way or the other. My uncle Tom comes up to town, and dines with me to-day. I must own it appears to me that C—— has completely *got round* both him and Lord G——. They are astonished that I can think he shows disinclination to me personally, &c. &c. I must say that I think your view of the question is a fit one, and such as you are thoroughly entitled to take, and have only to beg earnestly that no consideration of my interests may induce you to depart from what you feel to be due to yourself and your own consistency.

Ever most faithfully yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Square, Oct. 3, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Having learnt from Charles that you have expressed to him some uneasiness at not hearing from me in reference to the discussions which have, as he tells me, been going on between you and the Government upon the proposal of his taking the Chair, I do not hesitate to assure you that no man living can take a more cordial and affectionate interest than I do in everything which regards your happiness and gratifications, public and private, and that whatever could be done, on my very limited scale, that could in

the least degree contribute to any of those objects, I should do with all the kind and ready feelings of warm and sincere affection. From political discussions, however, I have, as you know, entirely withdrawn myself for a very long time past, and the very little share which I took in the discussion respecting yourself and Charles, at the beginning of last winter, convinced me how much pain to myself and how little advantage to you, must arise from my renewing them. In truth, I am much too antiquated to enter into the councils of a mind as ardent as yours, and much too little conversant with the politics of these times to be a useful or safe adviser. I have the more readily adopted this negative course from the persuasion that you, who are in the prime of life for business, with more than forty years over your head, with good talents, and with no little experience of men and manners, are a much more reasonable judge of what is fit for you to do or not to do, than any other man can be for you. Who is there that can sufficiently adopt the thoughts and feelings and taste of another, to decide for him what is best for his own happiness? Why should it be required that I, who have one foot in the grave, should see the objects of public life or the means of attaining them, in the same points of view with yourself, who are in the prime of active life, and ardently alive to all those pursuits which are flat and unprofitable to my antiquated eyes? It is perhaps not unreasonable in me, who see you one of the first men in the country, with a Dukedom and the Garter, and having already all that the Crown can give, to consider you as standing upon very elevated ground, and as being one who ought not easily to be persuaded by any Government to accept of any office from them. On the other hand, it is quite natural for you or any man who has the ambition to be decidedly the one

first man in the country, to take the course which in your judgment leads most directly to the object of your wishes; but how can I advise in this, who do not start from the same post or look towards the same goal? I am prouder, it seems, for you than you are for yourself, and while you seem anxious to establish a claim for office in the present Government, I am too proud to see you as that claimant, or to agree that any consideration should induce you to take official share in this Government, unless it were for the single act of dispensing to Ireland the blessing of Catholic emancipation? This different view of your situation from that which you entertain, leaves therefore no possibility of my old-fashioned eyesight adopting what your younger and stronger eyes see with an ardour of which mine are no longer capable. As long as I see my dear Duke, I do not see upon earth anybody in whose prosperity and happiness I take a warmer and more sincerely cordial feeling than I do in yours—and that is better in an old, decaying uncle, than discussions that he is no longer fit for.

This sensible communication anticipates the result of the overtures of Mr. Canning, who was already beginning to feel his strength, and did not hesitate to show it. What his object was is expressed in the next letter; it was foiled by the Duke of Buckingham placing it in a strong light before the observation of the now nominal Premier, Lord Liverpool.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Oct. 7, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I thank you for your communication, and am glad to find the whole business, as far as it was connected with your party, is terminated; I received a letter from Charles Wynn yesterday morning, informing me of the result of your communication with Lord Liverpool.

No one can undoubtedly so well judge the question, as it may affect your honour and character, as yourself; the removal of Charles Wynn from the Cabinet, if done either by intrigue or force, was a measure which you could not submit to, and if you were satisfied that such was the intention, the steps you adopted were such as became you; I consider that it would have been impossible for any one of your party who had accepted office, to hold it one moment after you had come to the decision of separating yourself from all official connexion; nor do I think that under such a declaration Charles Wynn could doubt of the line which he so promptly and honourably adopted. Indeed, I must fully agree with you in applauding his feelings towards you and his friends. I am rejoiced that no new arrangements take place in your political relations with the Government, for I am persuaded the best, the most advantageous, and most popular state in which your interests can stand, for some time at least, is by remaining perfectly quiet, and suffering public discussion on men and parties and official situations to be diverted to other quarters. We had our full share last Session, and let Mr. Canning, if he chooses to commence his career by Cabinet intrigue, have the full benefit of it; no change would at this moment occur in your party without incurring (whether

true or false) the charge of official rapacity on the one hand, or a want of common gratitude on the other.

The King is arrived at the Cottage with his *usual* party, and I understand remains about three weeks; he sees nobody as yet, but is reported to be very well and in good spirits; he was at chapel yesterday, and is driving in the Park every day.

Ever, my dear Duke,
Most faithfully yours,
W. H. FREMANTLE.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Brighton, Nov. 5, 1822.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Charles Wynn wrote to me to say he wished to come and lay before the King Lord Amherst's appointment to sign, thinking it would be a good occasion of presenting himself for an audience, and I strongly recommended him to do so, though it was uncertain how he might take it; however, nothing could have been better received. The King has not appeared since he has been here, now ten days, and has confined himself to his room under a slight affection of gout, for which he is taking Wilson's medicine, but he received him most graciously, talked for an hour and a half, and Wynn came away delighted. I am quite happy that he came down for the purpose. I can't make out exactly how matters stand at the Pavilion. The Regnante has not yet arrived. He has been quite alone, literally, with Lord Conyngham and Sir W. Knighton, and not another person. It is said she has taken an aversion to this place, and I rather give credit to it, for Lord Conyngham told me he was going to fit up the Castle at Windsor, as the King had taken a fancy to it, and now seemed to prefer it to the Cottage. What this means I know not; I do not think,

notwithstanding, that she is out of favour, or even to have lost ground, but that the strangeness of his conduct daily increases.

Did you ever hear of anything half so absurd as the conduct of the Speaker? He first wrote to Lord Liverpool to ask his opinion about standing for the University, and having received a very cold answer, declaring his wishes to be in favour of Lord Hervey, he immediately declared himself with his *re*consideration advertisement; afterwards Charles Wynn hit the blot which had been overlooked, or probably never looked for, in the case of Charles Dundas when proposed by Sheridan, and who was objected to by Mr. Pitt, as not being capable on account of not having previously taken the oath at the table before the Speaker, which by the act is necessary in every case but at the commencement of a new Parliament. When Charles Wynn mentioned this, it set them all aback, and after requiring a day to consider it, it ended by his giving up; the consequences of all this has been that the Solicitor-General has been driven from a certain success, and the Government interest being divided between R. Grant and Lord Hervey, it is not improbable that Scarlett may succeed.

I should judge from the language of Tierney on general points, that he thinks the Government stronger and more likely to hold a firm and vigorous language and line of conduct by the introduction of Canning, than it was last year. I believe the latter is to name Frederick Lamb[1] his Under-Secretary, and Lord Clanwilliam to succeed Frederick Lamb.

The appointment of Lord Amherst, taking all things into

[1] Afterwards, in 1839, created Lord Beauvale; he was for some years Envoy-Extraordinary and Minister-Plenipotentiary at Vienna.

consideration, is, I believe, as good a nomination as could have taken place; and as far as it regards our Board, I should think the best, for he has no intrigue, and will act straightforward with us. Canning is gone down to Walmer, and you may rest assured that it will very soon end in his leading Lord Liverpool; if he can persuade him to get rid of Vansittart, it would be the best exercise he could make of such an influence.

Ever, my dear Duke,
Most assuredly yours,
W. H. FREMANTLE.

Of course you know Sir Henry Wellesley is named to succeed Lord Londonderry; better accounts of the Duke of Wellington's health.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Nov. 6, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

I thought it right to take down the approbation of Lord Amherst's appointment to Brighton myself on Sunday, and was most graciously received.

He [the King] complained much of flying gout, with which he had been extremely unwell during the last week, but was in excellent spirits, and kept me sitting with him more than an hour. He was lame, and moved with difficulty, and told me (at nine P.M.) that he had only been up for two hours. Not a soul in the palace but Lord Conyngham, Lord Francis, and Sir William K——n. His face was deeper sunk in the lines than I have yet seen it, but the colour was better than I expected—a dark brown, instead of the dead, tallowy colour which I have sometimes seen.

The Speaker has made the most stupid and unpardonable mess at Cambridge ever made by man. He wrote to

Lord Liverpool, who answered him that he thought his situation created much difficulty, and advised his consulting Lord Sidmouth and Lord Colchester, both of them having, when in the Chair, been intended candidates for Oxford. He asked neither, but talked to the Attorney and Solicitor-General and his own clerks, declared himself a candidate without ever communicating with a single Minister in the House of Commons. As soon as I found that he had declared, I was convinced of the impossibility of his being re-elected Speaker if he vacated his seat, after the decision of the House in 1801 in favour of Pitt's objection to C. Dundas, and therefore went to Canning, who begged me to write to Liverpool, who in return wished Canning to write to the Speaker about it. Canning begged me to go to Peel. There I met the Speaker, who had not in the least adverted to this difficulty, but allowed that it would be unreasonable to expect the Government to fight his battle against such an authority, and finally agreed to retire from the contest!

Fremantle tells me that he is quite in the hands of a sister of Lady B——, with whom he passes all his time, so I suppose Miss H—— wears the willow.

Some suspicion had been excited by the numerous stacks burnt in Ireland, some of them the property of persons by no means obnoxious to the Rockites. A search was therefore made in a small district, in which no less than thirty were found prepared for the flames, the wheat having been threshed out and the straw re-stacked for the convenience of charging the barony for the bonfire.

You will see that Wellesley has, on the authority of the law officers, taken steps to prevent the dressing up Old Glorious on Monday at Dublin. I shall be curious to see the result, which I expect will be only some offensive speeches in the Quarterly Assembly, &c.

Lloyd of Aston, after declaring himself a candidate for Shropshire, has again retired. The only candidates now are Childe and mad Cresset Pelham. I trust that the former will carry it, and that then B. Thompson will come in on Watkins's interest for Wenlock.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Nov. 12, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

There is little at present going on, as everything is reserved till the latter end of this week, when we are to have ten days of Cabinets to consider the various subjects for the next session. Among others we have the promise of a despatch from Lord Wellesley, on the subject of tithes, by the 15th. C—— is civil (which for him is a good deal), but I cannot say cordial. I seem not to find it out, and mean to allow time for the little irritation which has arisen from the failure of his plan, to subside. No allusion was made to the subject during my visit of last week, and indeed the conversation was chiefly on Stuart Papers, Horace Walpole, &c. &c.

Notwithstanding the panic on the Stock Exchange, our news from Congress is still of a decidedly pacific tendency. The Spanish insurrection, we are told, gains strength, and the Greek loses; but on the latter head we have found our informants somewhat partial.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Nov. 22, 1822, half-past five P.M.

MY DEAR B——,

Your apprehensions relative to the issue of what is passing at Verona certainly would derive more support from our last accounts than from the previous ones, and the way which had been made with France by exciting her political apprehensions, and with Russia by a representation of the military difficulties, seems now to be very much *en retrograde.*

Still, the language and assurances of Villele and the King of France are perfectly pacific; and Montmorenci, who has adopted the other line at Verona, still states the necessity of his returning himself to Paris before any communication even of the nature of a threat is held out to Spain. Meantime he wishes France should be allowed to manage the interference entirely herself, and protests against Russia having any share in it, or marching a single regiment through her territory.

The only real object of Alexander is to ward off the present and pressing danger from his army, for whom he wants employment, and has proposed this Spanish campaign merely as a substitute for the Turkish.

Wellesley's despatch has, as I told you, arrived, but is not yet circulated.

We are about to recognise the S. American Republics and Brazil, and at the same time to adopt measures of reprisal against Porto Rico and Porto Cabildo, unless the Royalist Governors of those places will give up the Lord Collingwood, and cancel their orders for impeding our trade.

I have just been at Council, and thought that the K——

looked worse than at Brighton, but still his colour was tolerably good.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

The proceedings of the French Government with relation to Spain, now began to excite a good deal of attention in this country; appearances being in favour of the supposition generally entertained, that the labours of Wellington in the Peninsula were about to be rendered nugatory by the presence there of a powerful French army, and the consequent return of Spain to the position she held as a French dependency before the war.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Tuesday evening.

MY DEAR B——,

I do not believe that the French Cabinet is mad enough to entertain any view of the conquest of Spain. Experience must have taught even to them more wisdom, but Monsieur and the Ultra-Royalist party dread the intercourse with a *Republic* on their frontiers, and besides, have revived the old notions of the family connexion, and their duty to protect a Bourbon monarch. This is fed by their communications with Spain, where for the last ten months they have been active in exciting, both by money and other means, the Royalist or insurgent party, and these designs are equally instigated by the Ultra-Royalist and Ultra-Liberal party in both countries. The former, with the view of re-establishing the authority of the beloved Ferdinand; the latter, of raising by any means a war, which they calculate must end in the overthrow of both thrones.

We have no wish ourselves to take Cuba, but are inclined to give her the fair option of either continuing Spanish, becoming independent, or uniting with Mexico, positively resisting, however, even if necessary with arms, her occupation by any third power, *i.e.*, North America.

I continue most completely separated from the rest of the Cabinet. Whether they live at all together I know not, but believe they do. However, we have all been in town now for more than a week, and I never have seen anything of any of them except in Cabinet. No one dinner have I been asked to since the conclusion of the Session, excepting one in the beginning of September at Robinson's. Now we all know that business can never be really settled in the meetings of so numerous a Cabinet, but that it must be *in fact* arranged at more private meetings and dinners.

Canning is certainly not cordial, though there is nothing I have a right to complain of. Still I see that he is disposed to discuss the business of his own office, &c., with Lord Bathurst, Peel, or Robinson, but not with me. Peel is reserved in his natural manner, but I rather get on with him. What is Canning's object I cannot at all discover. His obvious policy would be to unite us to himself, but I am clear that is not in his view. His language to me on the Catholic question was in such a tone as to lead me to doubt extremely whether he can be relied upon. He dwelt so much on the disposition of the Duke of York, if he succeeded to the throne, to stake his Crown entirely upon opposition to it, and talked so much on the advantages of a compromise, which should secure everything except Privy Council and Parliament; professing willingness himself, if that was conceded, to oppose any agitation of the question for a considerable time, that I am myself convinced that he is disposed to consider it as a millstone, to which he is not

absolutely pledged, and which he will for his own interest shake from off his neck. We have begun on Wellesley's plan, but as yet made no progress. Indeed it is so defective, that though it professes to rest upon two or three plain principles to be adopted or rejected, there are double that number not adverted to which must be previously understood and determined.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Dec. 7th, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

I had yesterday a conversation with Canning, when he offered me either Copenhagen or Stuttgard for Henry, as a remove from Switzerland. I obtained from him that the question should be kept open till I heard from him, though I cannot feel a doubt that he will gladly accept the former, as though the business is in truth as little or less than that of his present situation, it is in the public eye a decided promotion, the salary is 1000*l.* a-year higher, and whenever anything more desirable may become vacant, any Secretary of State will be better disposed to promote him than from Switzerland, the mission to which can never be vacant without again raising a question upon its suppression. The residence is certainly less desirable as well as the climate, but these are inconveniences which any man who wishes to rise in his profession must be disposed to overlook. The offer is also valuable, as I think it shows good disposition.

We have to-day the D—— of W——'s despatches from Verona of the 26th. He proposes setting off on the 30th, and coming home through Paris. He sends copies of the despatches of Russia, Austria, and Prussia to their Ministers

at Madrid, which are to be communicated to the Spanish Government *in extenso*. They are couched in very strong, indeed, offensive terms, announcing their intention to make common cause with France in the event of the violent death of the King or any of the Royal Family, of his dethronement, or any alteration in the succession, or of any aggression on the territory of France. The note of Russia goes through a kind of history of the revolutionary steps of Spain. Meanwhile, Villele continues the assurance of his determination, supported by the King, and *also by Monsieur* (who I suppose now, as is his custom, has taken fright), to avoid a rupture, and expressing his hope of having the support of Sir C. S——[1] to resist Pozzo di Borgo. Metternich also, while he joins in the impulse which Russia has given to the Congress, begs the D—— of W—— that Sir William A'Court[2] may be instructed to mediate as far as possible with Spain, and to prevent her from resenting these extraordinary measures.

Altogether, if A'Court can succeed in persuading Spain that it is her interest to wait till she is attacked, and only to resent these words with words, I think it is very probable peace may still be preserved, as Villele has extremely increased his strength in the Legislative Assembly, and the danger of again bringing a French army into action is felt by every one but the Emperor Alexander, who, as usual, acts from his own feelings only, and particularly from aversion to the example of a successful military mutiny, to which Prussia also is most sensible.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

[1] Sir Charles Stuart, created in 1828 Lord Stuart de Rothesay.

[2] In 1828 created Baron Heytesbury.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Dec. 30, 1822.

MY DEAR B——,

You will probably have heard from other quarters of the intended appointment of Lord Francis Conyngham to be Canning's Under-Secretary of State. I only know it from report, but am disposed to believe it; and it is added that the King on his late visit to Brighton leant on his shoulder and patted his head.

I cannot conceive how Lord F. C—— can retain the Mastership of the Robes.

The next report is that the newly-erected pillar of orthodoxy, young Bankes, has to encounter an action for crim. con. from Lord Buckinghamshire, and that Scarlet is retained for the plaintiff.

Surely Wellesley is making too ridiculous a parade, even for the taste of Paddy, when he talks of the *horror*, the *awful moment*, &c.; and when we consider that the King and his father have both had to encounter bullets, it is but in proper subordination that the piece of a rattle and of a glass bottle should be directed against the occupant of "*the throne on which he has been placed by the favour of his Sovereign.*"

Still it may be of use towards the suppression of the Orange Lodges, which I have great hopes will result from it. It has been proposed to extend the English Act against Secret Societies, to Ireland, with a view to some of the cases of conspiracy which they have been unable to deal with; and upon mentioning to Peel that that was the Act upon which the House of Commons in general agreed in 1813 to consider the Orange Association as illegal, I had much pleasure to see that he looked upon this as a recommendation rather than an objection.

The conduct of Villele is to me quite inexplicable, nor can I conceive his motive for resorting to so offensive and irritating a step as the publication of a despatch (in itself calculated to provoke a war) immediately after he had triumphed over the war party, and their expulsion from the Cabinet.

Ever most faithfully yours,

C. WILLIAMS WYNN.

CHAPTER XI.

[1823.]

CONTINENTAL AFFAIRS—DIPLOMATIC POSTS—PROPOSED MINISTERIAL CHANGES—MISSION OF LORD FITZROY SOMERSET TO SPAIN—STATE OF IRELAND—OBJECTS OF FRANCE—APPOINTMENT OF REGINALD HEBER—INCREASING POPULARITY OF MR. CANNING—THE KING'S SPEECH—TRIALS IN IRELAND—MR. PLUNKET—THE BEEFSTEAK CLUB IN DUBLIN—OBJECTIONABLE TOAST—THE DUKE OF CLARENCE—IMPRUDENCE OF LORD WELLESLEY—THE LORD-LIEUTENANT'S EXPLANATION.

CHAPTER XI.

CONTINENTAL affairs were at this time attracting general attention throughout the British Empire, principally in consequence of the recently-published declaration from the Allied Sovereigns at the Congress of Verona, threatening interposition in the affairs of Spain, and the attitude of France with a view to the same object. To the new Foreign Secretary an opportunity presented itself for directing the policy of Great Britain in a manner worthy of the position she had acquired by her prodigious exertions in the last European war; and remembering the largeness of his professions when out of office, the political world waited with much eagerness the measures of this brilliant statesman to maintain the dignity of his country. Mr. Canning appeared sensible of the gravity of the threatened complication, but occupied himself much more in endeavouring to strengthen himself in the Cabinet than in developing a policy likely to realize the expectations of his admirers.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Jan. 3, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

I am sorry to say that in consequence of William Hill altering his mind and declining the Under-Secretaryship, the intended promotion in the diplomatic line which was to have opened Copenhagen to Henry is stopped, and Canning now strongly presses his removal to Stuttgart with the same rank and salary, with a view to an arrangement by which the missions to Switzerland and Frankfort will be reduced to a Minister Plenipotentiary, with about half the present allowances.

This I think, though by no means pleasant to Henry, he ought to accede to, both for the public benefit and the gratification of his immediate superior, it being clearly understood that he is to be considered as entitled to promotion on the first occasion.

Canning is very gracious and confidential. He certainly wishes in no moderate degree to get his friend Huskisson into my particular office, but would be quite willing to give me any other I chose in exchange which he could obtain, but as I really prefer it to any other which could be given to me, except that of Secretary of State, or possibly the Admiralty, if there were no better claimant, I do not see any probability of his wishes being gratified *à l'aimable.*

It is most vexatious that, in spite of all admonition, the *Courier* persists in its warlike tone and justification of the interference of the Continental Powers in the internal affairs of Spain, in opposition to all the known views and declarations of the British Government.

Of this I have given a hint, and desired that it may be noticed in the next.

With respect to France, I can tell you hardly anything which you do not already know. They continue assurances of their pacific intentions to us, and it seems clear that Montmorenci resigned because his note was deemed too warlike; and yet one can scarcely conceive how it could have been more likely to create a rupture than that of Villele, particularly followed up as the latter has been by the very offensive step of giving it publicity in the *Moniteur* within forty-eight hours after it had left Paris.

It cannot be denied that this note so published is in itself a legitimate ground of war to Spain if she chooses to avail herself of it. C—— believes that she is not yet sufficiently ready, and will prefer remaining at peace. Meantime she has made the greatest haste to grant all our demands which had been so long pending, and to promise immediate satisfaction on our different grounds of complaint.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

I agree with you in thinking that the Indian Juggler has disappointed expectation most lamentably, and I fear that we must say the same of *our* own friend, who seems to me a *Diabolus Domini Vice Regis, tout comme un autre.*

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Jan. 6, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

Canning not having come up to town, I have not been able to speak to him on the subject of your letter, but after communicating with Lord Liverpool, I can, I believe, say with certainty, that though of course no part of the King's speech has yet been framed or considered, you may depend

upon its containing such a recommendation of relief from taxation as will satisfy the principle upon which Lord C—— wishes for information.

I have much pleasure in telling you that a change will, I trust, take place by the retirement of Bragge Bathurst, which will enable us to take the field with better auspices at the meeting of Parliament.

It is proposed that Vansittart shall succeed to the Chancellorship of the Duchy, with a *Peerage;* Robinson to the Exchequer; Huskisson, Board of Trade and Treasurer of the Navy, without Cabinet; Arbuthnot, Woods and Forests; Herries, Secretary to the Treasury. As yet, this is completely a secret even to the Cabinet, but as the King has approved it, it probably cannot long so continue. One consequence I apprehend will be, that Peel and I must stand the pelting of the first fortnight of the Session by ourselves, which probably your kindness will admit as an additional reason for my wishing C—— to listen favourably to Canning's request.

I really do not think that there is the least ground for your supposition of intentional neglect on the part of Government towards you. Nothing which I have seen looks at all like it. It is possible that you may think that you ought to have been written to oftener, but it has naturally been supposed, that as I was in constant communication with you, it was not necessary for anybody else.

I have to-day heard from Dublin that the Grand Jury has thrown out Bills preferred against the rioters for a misdemeanour, very much in consequence of the feeling originally excited by the first design of proceeding against them capitally for a conspiracy to assassinate. Plunket has, I understand, immediately declared that he would file an *ex officio* information against them. Whether this is wise or not depends, I think, wholly on the nature of his evi-

dence; if he can produce sufficient to warrant a conviction it will be quite right, and expose the Orange spirit of Dublin; but if it is deficient, it will have a most mischievous effect to subject them to such a proceeding, after the Grand Jury has thrown out the Bill.

I am very sorry that you differ with me about Henry, but it really seems to me that after Canning has intimated this opinion in favour of the reduction of the mission, he has only the choice of leaving it or of carrying into execution his original offer of taking it with his own rank, but a reduced salary. In the event of a repetition of last year's attack, it would be no trifling change if the Secretary of State were in his heart against us, and if, perhaps, his intimates knew that he had proposed an arrangement for averting it. I will also fairly state that, after thwarting Canning's favourite plans for Huskisson, I am the more anxious not to interpose unnecessary difficulty in the way of this.

I have to-day heard from Lord Hastings, that he awaits his successor in India. The last *Guardian* is not quite as good as that of the preceding week, but the letter to Lethbridge is excellent, and the general tone and conduct quite right.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Audley End, Jan. 14, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

The mission of Lord F. Somerset[1] is not of a nature to give any jealousy to A'Court, being rather despatched by the Duke of Wellington to Alava, and some of his old

[1] The late Lord Raglan.

friends in the Spanish army, than by Canning to the King of Spain; besides, he having been at Verona, can more correctly state to them the means by which they may enable us to avert the war with which they are menaced.

Henry accepts Stuttgart, though extremely reluctantly. You have never made any observation on the changes which I announced to you before I left town, and which I thought would please you. An attempt was made to persuade me to take Robinson's succession, but I really was exactly of Mr. Huskisson's opinion, and thought 2000*l.*, or rather 1800*l.* a-year, worth more than a house, coal and candles; besides which, I did not like the idea of a second time undertaking a new department of the business, of which I knew nothing, just at the outset of the Session.

I think Old Nick ought to be Viscount Van, for alliteration sake. I believe he trusts still to his own loins to perpetuate the peerage, and applies for no remainder. With this exception, I think the arrangement as far as it goes good. Indeed, I do not know why Arbuthnot should have the Woods and Forests, but that the diplomatic pension list is full. I wish Lushington would retire also, for I believe he does his work ill. I suppose you have had a due announcement of the marriage of M. F——. Poor man, with such a simpleton of a wife, and such a collection of radical brethren-in-law, I think he has a good thing of it. Lord Braybrooke has been ill, and was last week very largely bled; he is now better, but has not yet quite recovered.

Lord Liverpool positively asserts that he has neither directly nor indirectly pensioned Cobbett. I really think the Duke of Wellington not a little indebted to him for forcing the Whigs to declare county meetings a farce.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

East India Office, Wednesday.

Reginald Heber has, after much hesitation, to-day accepted the Bishopric of Calcutta; I grieve at losing him, but believe that the appointment will be most extensively beneficial. Our Brighton detachment reports the K—— to have been in excellent humour and spirits, and the general health good, but so lame as to occasion considerable doubt whether he may recover the use of his feet, which are much contracted.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Jan. 20, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

I see the changes have at length got into the newspapers. I am only astonished that the secret has been preserved longer than any similar one which I recollect, as it has been in agitation ever since Canning came into office, and the hope of assisting it by inducing Van to take my office was one of the considerations most strongly urged upon me at the close of our discussion relative to the Speakership.

For the best possible reason I cannot tell you our finance plans, but I trust that considerable reduction of taxes must form a part of them, agreeably to Liverpool's assurances. In the course of two or three days I shall know more.

Robinson[1] will be a decided improvement on poor Van, both in manner and popularity with the House, but as to measures, Liverpool must of course give the orders, and he obey. Still he is a man of sense and judgment, though perhaps deficient in energy, and if (as I am told) Huskisson

[1] Afterwards created Viscount Goderich and Earl of Ripon.

will draw well with him, it really is the best appointment, both ostensibly and in fact, that we have materials for.

Lord F. Somerset's instructions are decidedly to act under A'Court's orders, and only to make those communications from the D—— of W—— to Alava and other individuals, which could not with any propriety be conveyed through the accredited Minister, and which would in truth excite all the clamour against interference in the internal affairs of Spain, which we most desire to avoid.

With respect to the question of sugars, I am very far from having formed any definite opinion, and am disposed to go into the Committee which Van last year pledged himself to grant, with a most impartial spirit. The bias of my mind certainly is to believe that by no means in our power can the ruin of the old sugar islands be averted, and that the present plan only sacrifices the East Indies to the new ones, which in their turn will be obliged to give way to the S. American Continent.

The state of India is now certainly most critical, as by the successful introduction of the British muslins you have completely destroyed that which till within a very short time has been their great staple export, and which now they have ceased to use themselves. I doubt, however, whether Robinson will even consider himself bound by Vansittart's pledge to go into the Committee, as I know he disapproved extremely of its being given, and thinks that the East Indies ought rather to look for relief from encouragement to the silk trade, and consequently to their growth of raw silk, than to any other source.

The question, however, is one of which I am by no means master, and on which I am not in any way committed.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

The presence of a popular Lord-Lieutenant, as the Marquis Wellesley was considered on his first arrival in Ireland, did not eradicate that feverish spirit of disaffection in a certain portion of the population of the island, which had been the great difficulty of his predecessors. Indeed, his Lordship had lately become an object of open hostility, and an outrage had been perpetrated apparently against the vice-regal dignity, that was now undergoing investigation before the proper tribunal. This was only one indication of a mischievous spirit that had defeated the wisest intentions; in other places, the chronic disorder was so conspicuous as almost to make the friends of Ireland despair of being able to effect any permanent good in this unfortunate country.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Jan. 23, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

I have scarce a moment to write to you, as between general business and that belonging to the office, which presses particularly at this moment, I am hard pressed. The depositions in the Dublin riot seem to me completely to establish the fact of a preconcerted disturbance, but rather directed against the Lord Mayor than the Lord-Lieutenant; but there is nothing to support the idea of a capital charge, unless some subsequent declarations that they should not so miss him another time, and that they were ready to sacrifice their lives for the object, should be so thought. We are to-morrow to consider the steps to be adopted.

On the first flush, the proceeding by information after an indictment has failed, certainly seems objectionable, but I believe it must certainly be legal, just as preferring a second indictment would. I am myself, however, most inclined to support this course, not because I approve it, but because after all that has happened, it would degrade both Wellesley and Plunket, and exalt the Orange faction in the public eye, to refuse our sanction to the measures which they have adopted.

The great object of France, in all her twisted course, has been to have the question of War and Peace left in her hands by the rest of Europe, then by a dexterous application of this power to produce a restoration of some portion of the King of Spain's authority, and on that ground to regain her ancient influence in his Court. In this, at all events, she has completely failed. Spain now promises payment of all our just claims, some of which she admits, and is willing to refer the remainder to a mixed commission. She also sends over a specific request for our good offices, to avert from her the calamities of war. Canning, I think, expects that peace will be preserved, and reasons much as you do. Both the King of France and Villele profess to see how prejudicial to the interest of France war must be.

I verily believe Lord Melville's conduct to you to be only the same by which he gives offence to everybody else. Hay, I believe, told Phillimore that Lord M—— had not answered one letter of all those which arrived during the time he was in Scotland. Canning retires from Liverpool, and succeeds to one of the seats for Harwich, vacated by B. Bathurst's retirement and Nick's peerage.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W

There is some talk of Lord Maryborough quitting the Cabinet, and I believe that the Doctor only remains till he can appear to leave it without any reference to Canning's appointment.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Jan. 25, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

There is much reason to fear that Chateaubriand is still more favourably disposed towards the War party than his predecessor, and is run away with a true French notion that the *glory* of success can only exist in connexion with the white cockade. Should he prevail, there is little doubt that Villele will retire, and *then* the Ultra-Royalists will drive to the Devil with a rapidity that nothing can check.

This is the gloomy side; on the other, Villele has certainly great strength, and even the Royalists will think twice before they allow the million (English) of surplus which is about to be applied to indemnify them, to go towards the *frais* of an armament, the recommendation of which is that it is to be levied without a loan and without an additional tax.

I quite agree with you in the necessity of supporting Wellesley and Plunket, though we may *in private* think they have acted absurdly. I am convinced that the Orange party will make a run against them with all the power they can, of which I already see symptoms which cannot be mistaken; but as far as I can judge, L—— will behave *honestly*.

The depositions have all been sent over, and I am not surprised that the English lawyers are unable to find among them any ground to maintain the committal for the capital charge. As, however, this was abandoned, the practical

battle will be upon the propriety of a prosecution by information, after an indictment preferred by the Attorney-General has been ignored. Of this there is no example in England. Whether there is or not in Ireland I do not know, but at all events Plunket must be supported in it, and allowed to proceed. The Irish Government now stand publicly committed to that course, and if they were compelled to abandon it, *must* immediately resign, and afford a triumph to the Orange faction. It is no small misfortune that our law advisers should be so entirely in one interest, and under one influence, as to exercise no free agency of their own. I trust that we have put a stop to the practice of submitting Plunket's conduct and opinions to *their* revision, by treating their communication as one of a nature strictly private, and as one which it would be impossible to make known to any one individual without giving the justest offence both to Wellesley, Plunket, and Bushe.

The Speech will recommend considerable relief from taxation, and notice will be given of Robinson's intention to bring the subject forward as soon as he resumes his seat. It signifies little what we do. Lethbridge and the Squires will feel bound to go beyond us; but if we can extend the relief to 50 per cent. on houses and windows, carriages, horses, and servants, all reasonable men ought to be satisfied.

I have spoken to Lord Liverpool about Sir George Nugent, and he vows and protests nothing could be further from his intention than the slightest disrespect to a person towards whom no one can feel anything but regard, &c. &c. &c. In short, he says all that a man in the unfortunate situation of having done an awkward absent thing can say, and I know not what can be done further.

I believe my appointment of Reginald Heber is really

the very best for India that the kingdom could have supplied. Henry is to be accredited to Baden and Carlsruhe, as well as to Stuttgart.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Jan. 27, 1823.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Of course Wynn has communicated with you upon the changes which have taken place; I was completely ignorant of them till the papers announced them, but think altogether it is a much improved administration; the weak point of Vansittart is strengthened, and though perhaps Robinson may not have been the fittest man for a Chancellor of the Exchequer, there is none other who would have done so well with Lord Liverpool, and he is a very popular man in the House of Commons. Wallace is most indignant at Huskisson being put over his head, and has resigned the Vice-Presidency of the Board of Trade; this has been offered to Vesey Fitzgerald,[1] who I have no doubt will take it, but should he not, I understand it is to be offered to Charles Grant;[2] and it is also said that Lord Maryborough goes out, and Wallace is to replace him at the Mint.

The change at the Treasury would certainly make it easy for Canning to take a jump at any future opportunity by the resignation of Lord Liverpool, by becoming First Lord and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and giving the Foreign Seals to Robinson; how far this may be in his contemplation, you have better means of judging than I

[1] Created Baron Fitzgerald in 1826.

[2] Created Baron Glenelg in 1836.

have, but it is not very foreign to his character to entertain such a view.

Every human being seems to condemn in the strongest terms the conduct of Wellesley; there never was such an ass, and if he has hatched all this trumpery and made Plunket his dupe, the latter will never get over it; such is the belief, and it really looks like it. Plunket must of course come to the meeting, and we shall then see what he chooses to disclose to the public; for a justification he must make. The Opposition are not disposed to attack Lord Wellesley, and are of course in trammels on the question, but there are plenty of Orangeists who will not be wanting. The thing that I think looks most suspicious in all these measures, is the unmeasured applause which the Opposition papers give to Canning, and I hear that at Brookes's he is much the most popular man in the country; we know his avidity for popular applause, and I own I cannot but entertain some fears as to the abstainment on his part from all intrigue; the best security against this will be in the meeting of Parliament, when he will be soon brought in contact with those who are now upholding him. He does not come in for Liverpool, but for Harwich, as also Mr. Herries. Young Disbrowe comes in for Windsor, in the room of Sir Herbert Taylor, who resigns his seat. The Duke of York has been alarmingly ill, but is now much better; I understand you met him at the grand *chasse* at Ashridge.

Although it is very likely the French Government will be forced into a war, yet I am for my own part still disposed to think they will not, from all Lionel Hervey tells me on the subject; it is fraught with too much danger to France itself, and too certain a failure in the object for which the war is contemplated, to be persisted in, however they may bully and prepare for it. Canning has certainly recom-

mended himself greatly to public opinion by the line he has adopted, and though *we are given to understand* there has been considerable differences in the Cabinet upon it, he has never changed his tone for one moment, and has carried his views.

Adieu, my dear Duke,

Ever most unfeignedly yours,

W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Board, Jan. 31, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

The die seems at length to be cast, and the throw cannot be altered, though the French continue to profess the same desire of avoiding war, and with as much sincerity as they have done throughout the discussion. They have taken the worst course, and in the worst possible way. I really am so much out of humour with the *gros cochon,* that I rather hope that his life may be prolonged, so as to taste a little of the evil which he is about to produce. Poor Liverpool is in a state of worry and dejection which exceeds anything I have yet seen, but I am assured by Lord Melville this is not for him extraordinary when hard-worked.

The Speech states the King, faithful to his principles, &c., to have declined any measure which could lead to a foreign interference in the internal affairs of France; his endeavours to prevent hostilities, and his determination if they should take place, to use every effort to put an end to them, maintaining in the mean time the strictest and most exact neutrality; pleasure at the state of the Revenue, and that Parliament will be enabled thereby to relieve the burthens without any violation of public credit; condolence to the agriculture, congratulation to the commerce.

We have plenty of business to bring forward: Irish tithes, Irish distillery, finance, &c. &c.

I heard this morning from Plunket, desiring me to fix with Canning an early day for the Catholic question, which he will bring forward accordingly. I think of Thursday, the 20th, or Tuesday, the 25th.

He waits for the trials, but hopes to be over, as I understand him, on the 10th. He is prepared for violent attacks from the lawyers on the filing of his information after indictment, but speaks confidently of his defence.

Liverpool, Bathurst, Robinson, the Duke, Harrowby, and Westmoreland, are gone down to Brighton to read the Speech.

I do not yet even know what Burdett's motion for to-morrow is to be, but I am told resolutions of moderate censure on the Sheriff; and still less do I know what the course of the Orange Party will be; and it is on the latter that ours must principally depend, as their only object will clearly be to inculpate Plunket either directly or impliedly.

I go on with very little intercourse with my colleagues in the House of Commons, but must say that they seem not to have any more one with another.

I must break off,

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Feb. 1, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

I have not myself the least idea that a wish for the admission of Lord Colchester into the Cabinet exists in any mind except his own, or that Lord Harrowby has any idea of retiring at present.

It is perfectly true that France still continues to say that

it must be six weeks before any blow can be struck or a shot fired, and to beg us to continue our good offices, though she cannot admit any mediator between Princes of the House of Bourbon and near neighbours, but she still urges the necessity not so much of any real or efficient change being made, as of its emanating directly from the authority of the King—in short, that because they had a charte, two chambers, and an amnesty, Spain shall have them all likewise.

I have seen no symptom whatever of division among Ministers on this point.

The Lord Chancellor had viewed the introduction of Mr. Canning into the Cabinet with more discontent even than he had bestowed upon the admission of the Grenvilles; but an arrangement that brought him another popular statesman as a colleague, he regarded with so much ill feeling that it amounted to the expression of a desire to resign. "The *Courier* of last night," he writes, "announces Mr. Huskisson's introduction into the Cabinet. Of the intention or the fact I have no other communication. Whether Lord Sidmouth has or not, I don't know, but really this is rather too much. Looking at the whole history of this gentleman, I don't consider this introduction, without a word said about the intention, as I should perhaps have done with respect to some persons that have been or might be brought into Cabinet, but turning out one man and introducing another in the way all this is done, is telling the Chancellor that he should not give them the trouble of disposing of

him, but should (not treated as a Chancellor) cease to be a Chancellor. What makes it worse is, that the great man of all has a hundred times most solemnly declared that no connexions of a certain person's should come in. There is no believing one word anybody says, and what makes the matter still worse is, that everybody acquiesces most quietly, and waits in all humility and patience till their [his] own turn comes."[1]

A recollection of Mr. Huskisson by another political cotemporary of eminence, may here be put forward by way of contrast to the preceding. "Besides possessing considerable abilities, and upon some subjects extensive knowledge, he is cheerful, good-natured, and obliging—a man of the world of the best sort. When you come to converse with him upon other topics than those to which the purpose of your first interview limited you, you will find that nothing can be more rational and agreeable than his conversation."[2]

Though an able man, his subsequent political career was short and unsatisfactory. His known devotion to Mr. Canning, who had long endeavoured to bring him forward, after the demise of that eminent statesman, exercised a prejudicial influence over his fortunes, and the first opportunity that presented itself was eagerly seized to get rid of him.

[1] Twiss's "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 76.
[2] Lord Dudley's "Letters," p. 321.

About the end of January, Lord Grenville had a serious attack of illness—a paralytic seizure—that caused considerable alarm among his relatives and friends; but Sir Henry Halford having been summoned to the assistance of the ordinary medical attendants at Dropmore, an improvement shortly took place, and in a few days he was pronounced out of danger.

The proceedings going on in Ireland, arising out of the alleged conspiracy and rebellion, were regarded with as much interest in England as the threatened invasion of Spain by France.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Four o'clock.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I am just come from the House, which was not made, owing to the horrid weather and fall of snow, therefore I cannot move the writ till to-morrow, when I shall certainly do so.

I saw Spring Rice,[1] who had just received letters from Dublin, giving an account of the first day's trial. His letters were from Maurice Fitzgerald, Mr. Goold, and another whose name he did not mention, but he read them all to me, and they perfectly agreed in stating that nothing could have been more favourable to the proof of the conspiracy than the first day's trial. The Sheriff evidently attempted to secure a good jury; there were six trials, and he had only collected sixty individuals for the formation of the juries; the Court directed him to enlarge his numbers,

[1] In 1839 created Baron Monteagle.

which he was obliged to do, and the jury was considered tolerably good, though not a single Catholic upon it, only one individual who they knew to be a sworn and decided Orangeman. Nothing could exceed the eloquence, temper, and firmness of Plunket, exceeding his acknowledged powers. One witness only examined as yet, but all agreeing that if he [Plunket] only proves half that he has stated himself prepared to bring forward, a conviction must follow. In the course of his speech he stated that Lord Wellesley was supported in all the steps he had taken by the Government in England, and by the personal sanction and approbation of his Sovereign. He laid it very heavily on the Sheriff, Thorpe, and others of the Corporation. Altogether, from these letters (which of course must be taken with some abatement, from the character and opinions of the writers), it would appear that Plunket will not only come out most triumphantly, but that the Orangeists are fallen beyond all belief in their triumphant expectation.

Fitzgerald's phrase is, "The case even exceeds the most sanguine statement which Lord Wellesley had made me the day before."

Ever truly yours,

W. H. F.

I merely add a few words, to say that our first day has been most favourable to the Government, and that we are all in tip-top spirits. No one can yet believe that France will be mad enough to march troops into the Peninsula. Brougham's certainly one of the most, if not the most eloquent speech he ever made, but most bitter and vindictive towards the allies and the magnanimous Alexander. Nothing can be better than the accounts from Dropmore.

W. H. F.

I forgot to say that Plunket has two Orange informers to produce as witnesses, who were parties to the conspiracy. There was no prevarication or difficulty with the only witness examined.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

House of Commons, Five o'clock.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Nothing is talked of but Lord Wellesley's business; he really seems to have lost his head, though Plunket and Newport are come full primed and most loud in his defence; the Opposition, I have no doubt, will support him, and I have as little doubt that the Cabinet will do the same; but all the Orange part of the Government are trumpeting forth his misconduct, and folly, and madness. The real fact I believe to be, that he has been guilty of great imprudence, but that the Orange faction in Ireland were determined to drive him away, and Lord Manners was at the head of this faction. It is impossible that they can both now remain, and therefore I have not the least doubt that Lord Manners will be recalled. There is a story in town to-day, of a message having been sent by Lord Wellesley to Lord Manners, in which the former upbraids the latter with the most culpable, unfair, treacherous conduct towards him from the moment he set foot in Ireland, and letting him know if it were not for their public situations he should have resented it in another mode. I do not believe one word of this, though I give full credit for his indiscretion.

I have just seen Newport, who says it is impossible. He is just come from Dropmore, and gives a good account of Lord G——. Lord Liverpool I hear is quite firm about Wellesley; how the Chancellor will act upon it remains to be seen; the question must now come to an issue.

We expect much effect from Robinson's first essay on Friday. Canning has done remarkably well as yet, and gives great satisfaction. Nothing can prevent the mad war of the French.

Ever most faithfully,

W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

House of Commons, Feb. 10, 1823.

MY DEAR DUKE,

The Dublin jury were out for six hours, and then requested the judge to dismiss them, for they could not come to a decision. They were of course remanded, and ordered to be locked up till the next morning. We shall probably next hear of their fighting among themselves. Lady Rossman, in her evidence (ninety years of age), says it must have been an older woman than herself to be frightened by such a proceeding at the theatre.

I heard to-day (*quite private*) that a demur arises as to Huskisson's appointment to the Board of Trade, he being agent to Ceylon, and in that capacity a continual suitor on the part of the island to the Board. The agency is 1200*l.*, the Presidentship *nil.* He therefore of course will not hesitate, should it be found to be a vital objection. It makes no difference as to his election.

Banks stands for Dorsetshire, *vice* Portman, dead; it is not known yet if any other person stands. No further news.

Ever, &c.,

W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Feb. 10, 1823.

Nothing more decisive has, I believe, arrived from France; and the latest account from Ireland is, that at eight o'clock on Friday night the jury were considering their verdict.

I shall not be surprised if the evening papers obtain the result, though it may not reach Peel till to-morrow.

The war-whoop of Opposition may possibly have some effect towards frightening old Louis, and in that case it may be useful, but I trust there is little chance of its communicating its effects either in the Cabinet or Parliament on this side the water. Canning will, I believe, return in time to take his seat to-morrow.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Feb. 11, 1823.

My dear B——,

The newspapers will tell you the result of the Dublin trials, but we have had no letters, and know nothing of Plunket's intentions. The report is that the Orangemen are quite triumphant and insolent. What line C——g intends to take I do not know, but I have observed that he never omits an opportunity of quizzing the Bottle Plot, and that all his friends ridicule Wellesley on every opportunity.

Stocks are down to 73½, but we have nothing new either from Paris or Madrid.

Ever yours affectionately,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Feb. 13, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

We are, I believe, going to augment our estimates from 21,000 to 25,000 seamen, which it is thought will be sufficient to protect our neutrality in the contest which now seems all but certain.

I am glad to say that the increase of the number of judges is consented to, and the measures of a third assize, the alteration of the Welsh Judicature, and the appointment of a Committee of Lords, with certain judges as assessors, are to be consequent upon it.

We are also to increase the efficiency of secondary punishments by sending convicts to different parts of our colonies, there to be employed in hard-labour; the worst to Sierra Leone; and to diminish the number of offences liable to capital punishment.

I expect Plunket every hour. He sailed from Dublin on Monday night, and I should think ought at latest to have been in town to-day. The remarks mentioned in my last have been general enough to have produced much observation, and they are, I am told, attributed rather to disinclination to the *master* than the man.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Feb. 15, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

No one who does not reside the greatest part of his time in London, can possess real influence in public affairs. Lord Chatham at Hayes, and Lord Grenville at Dropmore, neither of them half your distance, are instances of the loss of political consequence at a time when from the extreme

multiplication of correspondence, Parliamentary inquiries, &c., every single department was not over-worked and over-occupied to the degree they now are. There really now is no time even for communication among the different members of the Government, each member of which manages his own department almost without interference from his colleagues, except when he thinks it necessary to call a Cabinet on any point of peculiar importance.

Plunket arrived yesterday evening, and I have had a long conversation with him to-day. He is harassed and fatigued to a great degree by all he has lately been going through. The dismissals of Sir C. Vernon, St. George, and Stanhope, have taken place since he left Dublin, he having dissuaded Lord W——y strongly from the removal of the former before he went, and as he thought with success, he being just the good-natured, silly animal whom everybody would compassionate, and the women in particular.

The particular offence is their presence at the Beef-steak Club, where the *Chancellor and Commander-in-Chief* also dined, when the Lord-Lieutenant was drunk to the tune of "Now Phœbus sinketh in the west," with dead silence, and Lord Talbot with great applause; and afterwards the toast, which you will read in the *Courier*.

Now really, as the Dublin paper observes, for poor Charley Vernon to have got up, and in the presence of the Chancellor and Lord Combermere to have objected to the toast which they joined in because the Lord-Lieutenant was clearly the person who wished to "*subvert the constitution*," would have been rather a strong measure; and it seems pitiful to resent conduct in the Chamberlain, because he was part of his household, which the Lord-Lieutenant dare not notice in the Chancellor.

He [Plunket] has seen Liverpool, who, as is usual with

him, dealt in generals, and avoided any particular conversation on the late events.

It seems to me that the proposition for extending the Act against secret and affiliated societies to Ireland (which has not yet been decided upon by the Cabinet) will probably bring the matter to an upshot. If that is agreed to, it will be evident that the Government are determined to support Lord Wellesley, and if not, that they are willing to resign Ireland to the tyranny of the lodges.

Plunket describes the flame in Dublin as beyond description, and regretted Wellesley being surrounded by a set of people totally incapable of assisting or advising him, and who merely carry rumours to irritate him.

I have no time to write more.

Ever affectionately yours,
C. W. W.

The Duke of Buckingham having accepted a proposal made to him to preside at the anniversay meeting on St. Patrick's day, wrote to the Duke of Clarence to obtain for the festival the advantage of his Royal Highness's presence, who thus replied:—

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CLARENCE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Bushey House, Feb. 10, 1823.
Late at night.

DEAR DUKE,

I have this instant received your Grace's letter of yesterday, and can only observe that in general I decline dinners of the kind mentioned in that epistle; however, my profession has carried me to Ireland more than once, and particularly when I was in the sister kingdom in the year 1787 I experienced those attentions which time cannot obliterate

from my memory. I esteem and value Ireland, and wish her well from the bottom of my heart. I am confident the meeting on St. Patrick's day ought to be one of charity and good humour, and totally void of those politics which unfortunately distract that unhappy country; in your Grace's hands, I am sure the business will be ably conducted to the utter exclusion of topics which might produce discord, and I shall be happy, as Earl of Munster, to assist your Grace in supporting the object of charity, and in preserving harmony and unanimity on the 17th of next March; till then adieu, and

Ever believe me, dear Duke,

Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM.

The imprudence of Lord Wellesley had become the subject of much comment even among his Lordship's friends, and somewhat embarrassed his colleagues in the English Cabinet. He excited in Dublin considerable opposition, in which more than one person in authority, with whom he ought to have cultivated the most friendly relations, made himself conspicuous.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Feb. 17, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

I very much agree in the view which you take of the situation of Lord Wellesley, and what I intended to convey to you was a disapprobation of his having SWOOPED at such small birds, when the Chancellor and Commander-in-Chief crowed in his face. He had only to decide between the

course of entirely overlooking the transaction, and that of requiring *their* dismission.

You will see the tone assumed by the *Courier* to-night is obviously with the intention of forcing the Orange part of the Government into action. A Cabinet will be held to-morrow, when I think the matter cannot fail to be brought forward.

Wellesley has played his cards wretchedly, particularly in not communicating with anybody. I really believe that by a contrary course he might have carried Peel with him. He has not even, I understand, written to the King, whom he ought to have treated as his sheet-anchor.

The information which you give me of the ascendancy of the Orange faction in every department of Government, is strongly confirmed by Plunket. His view is, that if the Act against secret and affiliated societies is passed, it should be considered as the manifestation of the resolution of Government, and be followed up by a private communication that all persons in office who endeavour to evade it and continue members of Orange Lodges, should be dismissed.

Canning appears engrossed in his own department, and certainly does not seem to place confidence in any of his colleagues but Liverpool. With Peel I have made much progress, and find him in general more fair, more manly, and more statesmanlike in his views than I had at all hoped.

I think it clear that either Lord Wellesley or Lord Manners must be recalled. I still hope it will be the latter, but either way it must decide what the future character and bearing of the Administration is to be, and drive out one part of it.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. WILLIAMS WYNN.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

House of Commons, Feb. 18, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

In consequence of the very agitated state of Ireland, and the certainty that the debate, instead of relating to the Catholic question, would have wholly turned upon the late proceedings in Dublin, it was generally thought at a meeting which this morning was held at Plunket's, that it would be advisable to postpone it till after Easter, and in consequence, Plunket, on the application of Newport and Canning, has just deferred it till Thursday, the 17th of April.

The paragraph in the *Courier* is disclaimed by everybody, and will, I trust, lead to the breaking off of all connexion between that paper and Government.

I have heard nothing more on the subject of Ireland, but have talked with some of my colleagues, who seem to feel as strongly as I do the necessity of the removal of the Chancellor. You shall hear when I know anything more.

Ever yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

House of Commons, Feb. 19, Four o'clock.

MY DEAR DUKE,

The difficulties of Ireland are complicated in every way, but I am quite sure the Government must stand firm to Lord Wellesley on the present occasion. The recalling him would be such a complete victory to Orangeism, that it would of necessity break up the Government; but I understand the Cabinet have no difference on this point, and in admitting "that in no instance has Lord Wellesley

exceeded his instructions." Whether he has fulfilled them judiciously, is another question. Again, if Lord Manners is recalled, the difficulty of fulfilling the engagement to Plunket, of giving him the Seals, is almost insurmountable, for it would then be a complete victory to the Catholic; and if any other man were named, it would be a complete quarrel with Plunket; so that altogether it is a fine mash; and in my opinion will only be got over by leaving them both to reconcile their differences, and giving Plunket a good opportunity, which he will not fail to avail himself of, to make his statement of the whole of his proceedings to Parliament. I have little doubt that this will set up Lord Wellesley again. At present he is run down with the greatest activity by every hanger-on and agent of the Protestant part of the Government. I hear Peel behaves very well indeed, and is perfectly moderate and well-judging upon the whole question.

We expect a desperate attack to-day, but I have no doubt we shall have a good division. Notwithstanding, *entre nous*, it appears to be an infernal job.

Ever most faithfully,

W. H. F.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Feb. 19, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

It gives me great pleasure to hear of your coming to town, but it is fair to say that when I wrote on Monday, I attached an importance to the article in the *Courier* which I am since convinced it was not entitled to, and that it is equally disapproved by all the principal members of the Government.

Still this will not be known in Ireland, and its effect

there will be most mischievous. *I think* the result will be the removal of the Chancellor; but Peel, with whom I have had most conversation, complains extremely of Wellesley's not having written to him a line, or I believe to any other person, on the state of Ireland or any of the late events. He says most truly, "The Lord-Lieutenant has a clear right to dismiss any of his household with or without a reason, but can we from that infer his feelings respecting the Chancellor, or can the Government take any steps on mere newspaper reports?" From Plunket's report I believe that the Lord-Lieutenant and Chancellor are on as bad terms as possible, and that it is notorious to all Dublin. The public good *demands* that decisive measures should be taken, but it is really hard upon the English Ministers to expect them to originate them without a request or intimation from the person in whose department they are, and who is most directly responsible.

If anything is now done, he [Lord Wellesley] will, you well know, make a merit of his not having complained against Lord Manners, and declare that he never wished his removal. Ever yours,

C. W. W.

The Duke of Buckingham thought it necessary to write to Lord Wellesley in a friendly spirit, on his recent proceedings, to which the Lord-Lieutenant made the following reply:—

THE LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Phœnix Park, Feb. 21, 1823.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I received with the utmost degree of gratitude and satisfaction your Grace's most kind and generous letter, which

my long (but as you know) involuntary silence did not merit.

Your Grace's reasoning is most just, and all your observations judicious and useful. In a few days I hope to be able (by a safe hand) to send a more full and explicit answer to your letter. In the meanwhile, I will shortly state that I hope the extension to Ireland of the provisions of the Act 38th George III. will not be delayed: that the removal of some officers of the household was absolutely necessary for the maintenance even of my *private* honour. V—— is an old offender, and had received menaces of dismission several times for disrespect to the King, Lord Cornwallis, Lord Whitworth, Lord Wellesley, &c.

A great military commander made such explanations at a private audience granted to him at his request, that it would be impossible to complain of his conduct. He is not very quick of comprehension, and probably was not apprised of the intention to insult. A great law officer was with me, and *now* declares that *he* never arraigned the *legality* of any of the late proceedings from October to the close of the trials, but did not approve the policy of those proceedings.

It is not just now the moment for investigating his conduct. The first objects are a full discussion and judgment on the conduct of my Government during the time which has elapsed from 1st January, 1822, to the present hour, and an extension of the 38th of the late King to Ireland.

I am most happy to hear that our dear and inestimable friend Lord Grenville recovers so rapidly.

Ever, my dear Duke,

Yours with true affection,

WELLESLEY.

CHAPTER XII.

[1823.]

NEW APPOINTMENTS — LORD WELLESLEY'S REPRESENTATIONS RESPECTING THE STATE OF IRELAND — THE GOVERNMENT SUPPORT THE LORD-LIEUTENANT — MR. PLUNKET'S EXPLANATIONS — ILLNESS OF THE KING — THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S SUGGESTION — AN IRISH QUESTION — TRIUMPH OF MR. PLUNKET — PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES — QUARREL BETWEEN MR. CHARLES W. WYNN AND MR. PEEL — THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S OPINION OF MR. CANNING — HIS GRACE A PEACE-MAKER — BOASTFUL SPEECH ATTRIBUTED TO MR. PITT.

CHAPTER XII.

THE changes that had taken place in the Government this year comprised the appointment of the Right Hon. Frederick John Robinson as Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer, the Right Hon. William Huskisson as Treasurer of the Navy, and the Right Hon. Nicholas Vansittart as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, he was also raised to the Peerage by the title of Baron Bexley. Mr. Henry Watkin Williams Wynn had also been gazetted Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Wurtemberg. The debates in the two Houses of the Legislature did not indicate any pressing necessity for more important alterations, the principal subject being the reduction of the National Debt, the Tithe System in Ireland, and the Irish Volunteer Corps; the last two giving occasion for attacks on the proceedings of the Government in Ireland. On these points the President of the Board of Control will be found sufficiently communicative.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, March 4, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

Lord W——'s answer has at length just arrived, and is rather an extraordinary one. He professes himself still decidedly of opinion that the extension of the Act against secret societies is necessary, but indifferent as to the time of its being brought forward. He dwells, however, much on the importance and utility of Abercromby's motion, and urges a full Parliamentary inquiry into the condition of Ireland, the nature of the Orange societies, and of the impediments his Government has met with. In short, if instead of a private it were a public one, I should think that he was making a preparatory case of grievance prior to resignation, to be hereafter moved for in Parliament.

Nothing was decided in the Cabinet yesterday, which in the hope of receiving this despatch was adjourned till to-morrow; but I flatter myself the result will be to announce that we are prepared to bring forward the proposed measure, though I fear this notice will be accompanied by explanations from P—— which will provoke a debate, and make it necessary for each of us to state his separate views. I regret the discussion on general grounds, but most on account of Plunket.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

I conclude, among so large a party as that at Strathfieldsaye, you will have had little opportunity of conversation with your host.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, March 5, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

Just returned from Cabinet, and going to the House. The determination, unanimous and quite satisfactory, to announce our own intention of bringing forward, immediately after Easter, a Bill to enforce the laws against secret societies, founded on the Lord-Lieutenant's despatches of November and January last, and fortified by what has since passed, and a general declaration of support to the Irish Government.

Ever yours,

C. W. W.

The letter I mentioned yesterday recommended inquiry and public discussion, for the purpose of placing in the broadest light the condition of Ireland, the nature of secret societies, the whole conduct of the Government, and of those who have thwarted and opposed it!! The two brothers strongly condemn the conduct of the third.[1]

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

March 6, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

My letter of yesterday will have prepared you for the debate, of which you will read the account in the papers. Undoubtedly the best course would have been to have given the notice of our intended Bill in the first instance, and so have precluded the debate, but P——[2] would not then have had the opportunity of making his explanation, to which he attached much importance.

[1] The Duke of Wellington, Lord Maryborough, and the Marquis Wellesley.

[2] Mr. Plunket.

" Part of his speech was good, but he showed too much anxiety to justify himself and prove his own consistency, and a sort of soreness which conveyed, I find, pretty generally, the idea that he was acting on compulsion, which the Purple (Orange is not an epithet strong enough) speech of his brother-in-law and Under-Secretary strongly confirmed.

Canning expressed well and decidedly the concurrence and union of the Governments of England and Ireland. Altogether we have got through the business *so far*, more smoothly than I had anticipated. I remained silent, as you advised. When I spoke of unanimity yesterday, I should have excepted W. W. P——,[1] who was too apprehensive of the consequences of the measure in the north, to be swayed by paternal regard. Plunket continues to look wretchedly ill, and from his own account of constant headaches, &c., I cannot help feeling uneasy about him.

We have not for some time had any discussion on foreign politics, but I quite concur in the view which my uncles, the Duke, and you all take of it, except that I could not *swallow* any permanent occupation of Spain by France without great difficulty.

Ever yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, March 7, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

It is true that there be many things which may arise between this and the end of the Session, but at present the one point upon which all the House of Commons seems to agree is, that we are the *best* and *wisest* Ministers since the

[1] William Wellesley Pole, created in 1821 Baron Maryborough.

days of Lord Burleigh, and we only stand in need of fans to hide our blushes when our modesty is so severely put to the proof by the compliments of the opposite side.

Seriously, the effect of the two last nights' debates, if properly taken advantage of by Wellesley, ought to place his Government for some time upon velvet, particularly when accompanied by the humble Palinodia of the Chancellor to the beef-steaks, which, I must confess, in despite of all regard for an old friend, seems somewhat contemptible. W—— has again the cards in his own hand if he knows how to play them, but the next *revoke* will be fatal to him if it soon occurs.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, March 12, 1823.

I have little now to tell you, my dear B——, but that on Monday a private letter was written to W—— by Peel, with the concurrence of the Cabinet, containing strong assurances of support, but stating at the same time an opinion that the evidence did not warrant the committal for an attempt to murder, or the language of the addresses or answers, and terminating with a recommendation of endeavours to secure the co-operation of persons of influence and consequence, whatever their persuasions or opinions might be. Altogether it had too much the tone of a lecture, but was so strongly supported by the brethren, that as there was no particular part I could say that I disapproved, after some modifications which I suggested, I acquiesced in it. The accounts which you give me of the D——'s language certainly seem to tally with his conduct, but yet I cannot conceive what possible arrangement he can

look to to remove him; to recall him would really be a signal of civil war; and I do not see to what place he could be removed, but to the Cabinet or to Paris. For the latter, he would be particularly unfit, and it would not be easy to make room for him in the former but by removing Westmoreland, which I conclude the Lowthers, &c., would resent in a manner which would be inconvenient.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

Although the current of politics seemed to be getting smoother, much uneasiness existed at Court in consequence of the King's state of health, which is thus described:—

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Brighton, April 4, 1823.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I came here for a few days during the Easter, fortunately after the Pavilion party had broken up, or probably I should not have found a room at the hotel. I merely write to give you the gossip of the King; the papers would make you believe he is quite well, but *tout au contraire*, he has appeared not more than twice or three times, and for the last three days has been in his bed. He held his Council yesterday in bed, and during this last visit of the Duke of York, he has never been out of his bed or bedroom. You may rely upon it he is most extremely unwell, and I take it to be a complete break up; he is low to a degree, and his expressions yesterday, while the Council were sitting in his bedroom, were most melancholy. The Council consisted of Lord Bathurst, Colchester, Conyngham, Becket, and Vice-Chancellor, who was here by accident,

I suppose if they had wanted another they would have sent for me. There is no party at the Pavilion, and everything looks glum and melancholy.

Ever, &c.,
W. H. F.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, April 10, 1823.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I imagine that Lord Liverpool's statement of Monday will scarcely be allowed to pass off without reply. Indeed it will afford a fine opportunity for dealing in general assertion and declamation. But if it should, I imagine that the Opposition will be the side to fix upon the time and nature of any ulterior proceeding. We don't propose to make any further proposition. Indeed, I doubt the expediency and propriety of doing what we are about to do without previous motion.

I don't recollect Mr. Henry Murray. But that is not surprising, considering that there are so many in the same situation who apply to me.

I hear that the King is now better. Could you not write to Sir W. Knighton, and recommend to his attention your course of regimen, &c.? He is not now the King's medical adviser; but he is not a person to mount his horse upon such a letter being written to him; and I am certain that such a letter from you will be received as an affectionate attention, even though it should not produce any other effect.

Believe me, ever yours most sincerely,
WELLINGTON.

The smoothness of the political current did not long continue; a passage in one of Mr. Charles

Wynn's numerous communications thus describes its disturbance :—

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

April 10, 1823.

It is a time when it is necessary to press for all the exertion to which Lord L—— can be spirited up to resist the motion of Brownlow on Tuesday next, which will receive a most formidable support from the Opposition, the Irish Orange members, and the irritated English Protestant country gentlemen.

Macnaghten has already tendered his resignation (but now says he will wait to hear Pl——'s explanation), which, connected as he is with Lord Hertford, is somewhat ominous. O'Neill is expected to do the same.

Opposition, notwithstanding a considerable schism among themselves, are, I hear, elated with the expectation of carrying the question. Lord Grey and the Mountain are most eager. Mackintosh, on the contrary, promises to attend and speak. Calcraft, Michael Angelo [Taylor], Grenfell, Ricardo, Newport, Rice, and some others, will support Plunket. Abercrombie is, I hear, undecided. But what is material is that it should be considered that all who vote with Brownlow are declaring direct hostility against the Government, and that a censure upon the Irish Administration is a censure upon the English, which supports and continues it.

I think we shall certainly have a good deal of desultory debate on Monday, when the papers are produced, after Canning's detailed explanation and statement; but as Lord Althorpe's motion for the repeal of the Foreign Enlistment Bill stands for Wednesday, that will open a better vent for the comments upon the papers when they have been

read. I feel little doubt, however, that the Opposition will originate some question in both Houses upon them, especially when they are accompanied with the news of passing the Bidassoa.

The Duke of Norfolk is, I hear, very indignant at the intention of Opposition to vote against Plunket, and threatens to break with them.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

Mr. Fremantle wrote the next day as usual, *de omnibus rebus.*

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, April 11, 1823.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I find we are in a great fright about Plunket's motion on the 16th. The Opposition are fortunately split upon it, but our *country* support is very slack upon it, and if Plunket don't make a better case than he did before, we shall be in a scrape—in fact, it will come to the question of whether the Irish Government is to stand or fall, or whether the Catholic or Protestant is to have exclusive powers.

You may be assured the K—— is breaking up. He may rally for a short time, but he has no stamina to resist attacks of the gout constantly prevailing in his habit. I have this from an authority I cannot doubt. He was in his bed the whole time I was at Brighton, from Wednesday to Monday, and I believe has not been out since. I am assured here that the markets are rising, and along the coast where I pursued my trip—I mean at Hastings, E. Bourne, &c.—the markets were improving greatly, and the corn rising. If you are not in town on Monday, I will let you know what passes in Canning's explanation.

The Duc d'Angoulême is thought to have started well, as far as his orders go, but the impression in town is still that France cannot succeed. I have not seen or heard what Fitz Roy Somerset says upon it, but he gives the most lamentable account of the state of the Constitutional Spaniards' preparation. Never was anything so disorganized, so wanting altogether in preparation, concord, or means.

Ever most truly yours,

W. H. F.

P. S. — I cannot get you Canning's papers before Monday, for there is so much erasure, and change, and discussion in them, that you may depend upon it they will not be ready till the moment of their presentation.

To these extracts may be added the following communications:—

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, April 14, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

We continue to be most nervous about the result of to-morrow. There is a disinclination to attend among the friends of Government which is alarming. The resignations of Barry and Macnaghten, the latter in particular, who is supposed to be as fond of money as any man, are strong indications of the violence of Orange feeling.

P—— has with great difficulty kept his *beau frère*, Dawson, from pursuing the same course. At the same time, he and Lord G. Beresford have done all the mischief they could by their conversation and language.

Lord Grey has been particularly active to stimulate the Opposition to violent hostility and censure, but it was supposed yesterday, that in order to avoid the hazard of a permanent and acrimonious split, they would all unite in favour of inquiry as a *mezzo termino*. Should this be the case, it is almost certain we shall find ourselves in a decided minority; still, the infinite evil attendant upon an inquiry, the irritation which it would create in Ireland, are considerations so weighty that we all think it better to be beaten on such a question than to concede it.

We are trying in secret to stimulate Wilberforce, Wortley, Acland, &c., to take the line of rising immediately after Plunket has concluded his defence, deprecating discussion as likely to exasperate and prolong the inflammation of both parties, and then proposing an adjournment. This I think is a course which the country gentlemen in general would be disposed to fall into, and which would be adopted by several of those who are equally disposed to avoid offending their Orange constituents and the Government.

It is in itself far from desirable to meet a censure by anything but a direct negative, but I think that such an expedient is, on the whole, preferable to the chance of defeat either on censure or inquiry.

The papers were not ready yesterday. We had some of the proofs at the Cabinet yesterday, but they were not then arranged or in any forwardness. I think it so likely that they may not be sent to the House of Commons till too late for the post, that I have desired Fremantle to go to Planta and beg that a copy may be sent down to you from the Foreign Office. I cannot conceive that any regular debate can take place to-night; some observations may be made, but it is obvious that they must wait till they have

read the papers and compared them with Canning's speech, before they can really proceed to any discussion of the conduct of Government.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Wednesday.

Nothing, my dear B——, could be more satisfactory than the result of last night. The triumph of Plunket was complete. He addressed a House evidently unfavourably disposed to him, and for the first hour we could scarcely raise a decent cheer to encourage him. It then became evident that he was making progress, and he proceeded till the applause fairly rung from every part of the House, and his adversaries, who had every reason to expect a majority, found it impossible even to venture on a division. On his account I wish more confidence had been placed in the effect of his speech, and that it had been determined to meet the motion with a direct negative, but the extreme reluctance of the majority of the friends of Government to pledge themselves beforehand to any course more decided than the orders of the day, would have made it too hazardous. In one respect the line adopted is fortunate, as it enables us the better to resist Burdett's motion for inquiry on Tuesday.

Canning's speech on Monday would have been a very good one for an independent member who spoke his own sentiments only, but ill suited the character of a Minister for Foreign Affairs. Such a speech in the Chamber of Deputies from Chateaubriand with regard to England,

would at some periods disable an English Administration from maintaining neutrality. I conclude that the discussion of the papers in the House of Lords, of which Lord Grey gave notice, will bring you to town.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, April 16, 1823.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I find you do not come till Thursday or Friday, I therefore send you a few lines to say how triumphantly the business went off yesterday. Brownlow made a very eloquent and able speech, but Plunket's explanation was perfectly satisfactory and convincing to the House, and the general feeling was decidedly in favour of crushing all further discussion upon it. The friends of Government had been summoned in the morning by Canning, and then a very calm and friendly communication took place, in which the violent Orangeists, I mean Sir George Hill, Dawson, &c. &c., all concurred in the propriety of preventing, if possible, any decision being pronounced upon the question, which could only go to the increase of the irritation and violence now existing, and could be of no advantage, but on the contrary the greatest disadvantage, to Ireland; and accordingly the motion of Courtenay's was suggested and unanimously approved; I must, however, do Peel the justice to say, that he distinctly stated that if the result of the debate was to be an opinion on Plunket's conduct, he should not hesitate one moment in giving his heartfelt and sincere opinion in favour of the proceeding he had adopted.

In the House, Plunket laboured, I think, a good deal in

bringing his precedents to bear on the subject, and showed infinite dexterity in all this part of his argument; but when he came to the whole of the proceedings of the Grand Jury and the High Sheriff, he carried the House along with him, and ended his speech with the unanimous feeling of the House in his favour; indeed, I am not sure but that we might have carried a decided negative; however, altogether it is better as it is, more particularly as Plunket is equally satisfied.

The King comes to town to-day, and I understand has made up his mind to hold a drawing-room, and sit during the time; I doubt even his ability to do this, if he has not greatly mended since I left Brighton. We shall lose the Catholic question to-morrow, at least this is my opinion; the state of Ireland, and of parties in that country, has made a great alteration in opinions of those who were not very stout upon it before.

The papers which have been presented to Parliament regarding the negotiations at Verona, and Paris, and Madrid, are considered so far satisfactory as to meet the feelings of the country in maintaining a neutrality—that is, in avoiding to commit England to any share in hostilities; but I should say that they have given an impression that we were duped by the French Government up to the moment of the King's Speech, and even afterwards, and that the tone maintained by England throughout the whole of the proceedings was not sufficiently high and commanding. There is also throughout the whole of the negotiations, a continued exertion on the part of England to induce the Spaniards to give way by some modification of their constitution, without a corresponding attempt to induce France to remove her army. The Opposition think that the papers altogether afford them a very good case; no notice is yet

given in the House of Commons upon the subject, but probably there will to-day or to-morrow.

Adieu, my dear Duke,

Ever most truly yours,

W. H. F.

P.S.—I fear poor General Grenville cannot last many days, he is considerably worse.

General Grenville died a short time after the date of this letter. He was the younger brother of Lord Glastonbury, and therefore the second son of Mr. James Grenville.

The state of our foreign relations began to create some uneasiness in the public mind; indeed, a grave complication was arising, that demanded the exercise of the profoundest statesmanship to treat in a manner worthy the reputation of this country.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, April 17, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

My letter of yesterday will show you that we do not disagree in principle as to the speech of Monday night. I cannot conceive a course more derogatory to the dignity or contrary to the interest of two great nations, than for the Ministers of Foreign Affairs to animadvert on the conduct of each other's Government, as those of England and France have done.

Still, I am very far from viewing it in the light which it has on the first impression appeared to you, nor can I participate in your apprehensions of its leading to the withdrawal of the Minister of the Court of France, or

that it will be considered tantamount to a declaration of war.

Lord Grenville concurs in disapprobation of the speeches, but not to the degree which you seem to feel, and expresses his opinion that "the papers are, on the whole, satisfactory, and the last instructions *good.*"

You have not stated what your objections to them are, and therefore it is impossible for me to address myself to meet them.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

I fear that we have not a chance of success to-night.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, April 18, 1823.

MY DEAR DUKE,

You will see by the papers the turbulent discussion we had last night. I was not in the House till afterwards, and therefore can only give you what I heard of the impression made, which was altogether favourable to Canning. His want of temper was condemned in the first instance, but at the same time it is thought that it will be most beneficial in stopping those strains of invective and abuse which are daily increasing, and likely still more to increase if not put down. The fact is, that the Opposition have been buoying themselves up with the hope and expectation of connexion and friendship with Canning—they now see this to be visionary, and are determined to try and drive a dissention in the Cabinet by violence; and in this they are encouraged by the language held, and general conduct of the Chancellor.

Wynn made an indiscreet speech, as far as it regarded Peel, but I hope nothing will arise from it—indeed, there

is no reason to fear there may, as the explanation was perfectly satisfactory. As to our Catholic question, it is gone to the d——l, and what is to be the result of this I have not a guess.

With regard to the negotiations, I perfectly agree with you that nothing can display greater weakness than the papers do; but the feeling in the country is so strong in favour of neutrality and of the Spaniards, and also the feeling of Parliament, that you may rely on it the Government will come out of the discussion triumphantly. I do not entertain the smallest idea that France will carry her resentment so far against Canning's and Lord Liverpool's speeches as to recall her Minister, or to think of quarrelling with us. I can understand your feeling with regard to their declarations in favour of the revolutionary Spanish Government; but however you may feel, depend upon it no Minister, no Government, and no man is powerful enough in this country, either in political or personal character, to stand up to fight the battle of the Ultras. I should say that the King and the Duke of York would do so if they could find the means, but these are impossible, and the public odium which would follow such an attempt would be fatal to any man or set of men.

There will certainly be a Levee on the 21st, and I suppose a Drawing-room. I take it for granted some notice will be given to-day in our House of a motion on the papers. As I shall see you so soon, I will add no more.

Yours truly,
W. H. F.

The relations between France and Spain continued to attract very great attention, both in and out of Parliament, and not only were suggestive

questions asked of the Government as to this country being bound by treaty to support the Bourbons in France, but the Earl of Liverpool in the House of Lords, and Mr. Canning in the House of Commons, while producing papers illustrating the late negotiations at Vienna, Paris, and Madrid, gave an exposition of affairs that strongly reflected on the conduct of the French Ministers. A still more important debate on the same subject came on on the 24th of April, in which Lord Grenville and the Duke of Buckingham spoke in favour of Ministers.

The question of the Catholic claims came on for discussion in the House of Commons on the 17th of April, but Mr. Plunket went through the usual arguments in favour of the Catholic claims with less than the ordinary amount of success, and the last of these motions of adjournment was carried by 333 to 111. In a subsequent debate, a misunderstanding between Mr. Peel and Mr. Charles Williams Wynn, as to the system on which each considered Ireland was to be governed, threatened serious consequences, according to the following representations:—

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, Ten o'clock.

I have been here from ten, and am going to the Aylesbury Commission, or should have called on you. I met the Duke of Wellington yesterday in the Park, who

had been sent to by Lord Liverpool in the morning, to discuss the question regarding Wynn and Peel. He threw the whole blame on Lord Liverpool for not having originally shown the papers to Peel, but said that it could not lead to ultimate quarrels—that Lord Liverpool must interfere, and that he, the Duke, was to see Peel *this morning*. It appears to me, from the Duke's language, that the discussion and the settlement of the difference must now proceed from Lord Liverpool, as it is the complaint of Peel against him for not being apprised of the terms on which we came into the Government. The Duke appeared to entertain no doubt of settling it amicably, but my object, pressed upon him, was to take care it should be done speedily, and that no public appearance of difference should be manifested in the House of Commons. Probably you have seen the Duke of Wellington before you receive this. A good speech from you in the House of Lords to-night would be more likely to strengthen us and set us right than anything else.

W. H. F.

The Duke of Wellington had never seen the correspondence till yesterday, when shown to him by Lord Liverpool.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, May 31, 1823.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I met the Duke of Wellington this morning, and had a great deal of conversation with him of a most confidential nature. He began it by asking if you had left town, saying he had received your letter, and had taken immediate steps for bringing matters right between C—— and

W——.[1] That "I knew perfectly well how ticklish a gentleman the former was, and how difficult to manage, and with how little ground he was in the habit of taking exception; that in this case he knew he could have no ground, but on the contrary he (C——) ought and must know, that he owed W—— every attention and kindness for the manly and decided manner you had acted on the proposal of taking him into office after the death of Lord L——."[2] I found evidently that the Duke of W—— disliked C——, for he could not resist the pleasure of attacking and condemning him in many points of his conduct since he has held the Seals, and entered at large into it in a manner that I cannot well detail in a letter, going through his quarrel with the Chancellor, and what had since occurred in an attempt which the Duke had made to reconcile them, and in which he thought C—— had behaved with great want of judgment and temper; again, in his conduct about Spain, and on the questions regarding Ireland; but with all this (admitting of course), his value to the Government, and the necessity of keeping him in good humour if possible. It was most satisfactory to hear him say, that the whole of Wynn's conduct in the Cabinet since he had belonged to it had been uniformly conciliatory and temperate, and such as had universally given satisfaction, and that he could not understand why C—— had taken the exception.

I see evidently from all this that the K—— still continues to feel indisposed to C——, for I am quite sure the language the Duke holds is the same held by his Royal Master; and there is another view which is not less satisfactory, namely, that he (C——) is not sufficiently strong with the Cabinet to carry everything his own way. All I

[1] Canning and Wynn. [2] Lord Londonderry.

should recommend to W——, and which I shall speak to him about, is to follow the Duke of W——'s advice in going on, not pretending to see the coolness, and leave C—— to amuse himself with his own ill-humour.

I was delighted to hear from Wynn of his Majesty's gracious language about you, and at the manner in which he was received, and that you have judged quite wisely in writing to express your feelings upon it; at the same time I would recommend you not to press it further at present, but to see how matters go on, and whether anything occurs previous to the prorogation. I still think the Chancellor will go when this takes place, but not before, but I doubt of the manner in which the law arrangements are to be made. The Government are determined to get the Irish Tithes Bills through if they can, and Canning told me he thought nothing could be so dangerous or desperate as to leave them still hanging over.

You shall hear from me whenever I hear anything further.

Ever most faithfully yours,
W. H. F.

The Duke of Wellington, who undertook the office of peace-maker between Mr. Canning and Mr. Wynn, refers in the course of the following communication to the well-known verse—

"I do not like thee, Dr. Fell,
The reason why, I cannot tell,
But this, in truth, I know full well,
I do not like thee, Dr. Fell."

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, May 30, 1823.

MY DEAR D——

I received your letter of the 28th, and took steps imme-

diately to effect your object. Although not so important as the affair of the same description I settled before, it is not so easy, as the disposition and manners of the men are very different, and it will take more time. But I am at work upon it, and have communicated with Lord Liverpool, who agrees with me; and I recommend that Charles Wynn should act as usual, and take no notice either of the continuance of the contrary state of things, or of any change which we may produce. I know there is no reason for the conduct complained of, excepting it be the same that was given for the dislike of Dr. Fell.

I will let you know anything that may pass upon this subject; and I beg you to

Believe me,

Ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

The state of our foreign relations elicited from Lord Grenville the following characteristic communication, referring to a boastful speech often attributed to Mr. Pitt.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Tuesday.

I send the petition by the coach. I believe I mentioned to you my wish that nothing should be said upon it, except that you present it in my absence on account of illness.

As I do not at all partake in the *virtuous* enthusiasm for the cause of Jacobinism in Spain, I allow myself to hope that things there are going on well. I am entirely of opinion that the war is a most unadvised step on the part of France, and that nothing could be more impolitic, except our having the folly to mix ourselves in the squabble either way by word or deed.

Some wiseacre in the House of Commons has said that Lord Chatham declared that not a gun should be fired in Europe *without his leave.* Lord C—— came into office when this country was involved in a war in which she had so much the worst of it, that all men despaired of the issue. He went out of office before the peace was made, and his merit was that he had by his successes in the war secured the means of making an advantageous peace. Secondly, in which part of his administration did any power of Europe take out a licence for shooting from him? Yet this is the sort of nonsense that passes current. Adieu.

CHAPTER XIII.

[1823.]

IMPORTANT DEBATES—EXPENSES OF THE CORONATION—STATE OF THE PENINSULA—MR. PLUNKET'S DISAPPOINTMENT—CONDITION OF IRELAND — DESPATCH FROM THE LORD-LIEUTENANT — THE KING OF SPAIN AND THE CORTES — MR. CANNING IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—LORD NUGENT'S BILL FOR RESTORING THE FRANCHISE—FESTIVITIES AT CARLTON HOUSE — THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS — THE FRENCH IN SPAIN — LORD ELDON — CANNING — PEEL AND ROBINSON—THE PRESS IN INDIA—THE KING AT "THE COTTAGE"—IRVING AND THE HEAVENLY PAVILION—POLICY OF AUSTRIA—THE KING IN COUNCIL—SCHISMS IN THE FRENCH CABINET.

CHAPTER XIII.

Lord John Russell brought forward in the House of Commons his motion for a reform of Parliament, on the 24th of April, which, after an animated discussion, was negatived by a majority of 280 to 169; but a more important debate was that which arose out of a motion made by Mr. J. Macdonald, for an address to the Crown censuring the conduct of Ministers in the late negotiations with foreign powers. It continued for three days—28th, 29th, and 30th of the same month—and gave occasion for the delivery of several effective speeches, particularly those of Sir James Mackintosh and Mr. Brougham against the Government, and of Mr. Peel and Mr. Canning in its defence. In the end, however, the policy of Ministers was endorsed by Parliament, the division being in their favour by a majority of 372 to 20. A few days later, the attention of the House was taken up by a charge preferred by Mr. Plunket against Mr. Thorpe, the High Sheriff of Dublin, for having caused the bill of indictment against the rioters at the Dublin Theatre to be ignored. Debate followed debate on this subject, till the House adjourned about the middle of May. But the subject was resumed on

the 23rd and on subsequent days, when a fierce attack was made by Opposition members on the conduct of Orangemen and on the system they supported. On the 26th, the motion was rejected in a small House by a majority of 131 to 77, when Mr. Plunket voted in opposition to Ministers.

We now resume the correspondence. The first paragraph refers to the state of affairs in the Peninsula, a complication regarded in England with increasing anxiety; but the writer, as will be seen, soon passes to a subject that excited at the time a good deal of interest among the economists—this was the expenses of the Coronation, some of which, it is plain, were open to objection. Subsequently, Irish politics—that had been rendered more interesting since the appointments of the Marquis Wellesley and Mr. Plunket to two important offices in the Government of Ireland—began to assume larger dimensions. From these causes Mr. Canning's position had become anything but a bed of roses.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, June 11, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

All the accounts from Spain speak of the enormous expense to the French, and that the most effectual means resorted to to resist the invaders consist in the patriotic spirit with which their friends draw upon them. They are also distributing money very largely to the Portuguese insurgents.

The spirit of reaction and the cry for the Absolute King, with the Inquisition, mean time greatly embarrass them. They have increased the columns detached to the south to 20,000 men. Scarcely anything is known of what is passing at Seville, and much apprehension is entertained for the King's life.

Hume has given notice of a motion for a committee to examine into the Coronation expenses, which is most embarrassing. It must, I suppose, be resisted; but true it is that the crown, made up of hired jewels, was kept till within the last three weeks, so that there will be twenty-two months' hire to be paid, which might have been saved, amounting to 11,000*l.* The charge of 24,000*l.* for robes is also terrible!

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Whitehall, June 14, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

The Duke of Devonshire's motion on the state of Ireland certainly comes on on Thursday, but what is to be its precise nature is not yet known, probably even to himself. Plunket went to Ireland on Thursday, much out of spirits, anticipating all evil from the irritation of the two factions, and I fear from the want of energy and vigour in him who ought to control them. You will see the violent proceedings of the Catholic meeting, and their talk about *physical strength*, &c. I am glad to find that Blake, the Catholic barrister, is appointed by Lord Wellesley, Deputy Remembrancer of the Exchequer, as I think he will be of use in Ireland, and will strengthen Plunket's influence.

I do not wonder that in this weather you are averse to quit the country, but I think you are quite right in

coming for such an occasion as the present, upon which an explanation of your views may be extremely useful.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

If you can, pray come on Wednesday. Brougham is on that day to move in the House of Commons on presenting the R. C. Petition, and in case I should wish to speak, I should particularly like to have talked the subject over with you previously, in order that we may chime in as far as may be.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, June 17, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

You must not wonder that Plunket did not stop to visit you in his way. He has now been four months absent from Ireland, suffering all the while from vexation and indifferent health, which have produced the effect of making him low and hypochondriac about himself. He was convinced nothing but the native breeze of the potatoes could revive him, and he was besides not a little uneasy as to the consequences of this absence upon his professional business, and very anxious again to see his family. Nothing else could, I will not say justify, but excuse his turning his back upon the Tithe Bill while in the Committee, which I must say it was his duty to have stayed if possible to have fought through; but he is thoroughly dejected, and often talks of the probability of his being obliged to retire.

Lord Hastings, I apprehend, returns only to see whether he can get any better appointment than the mission to Naples, which, as he intended to go to Vienna, not a little

disappoints him. I am going to Cabinet, and if I hear any news, will add it.

Ever affectionately yours,
C. W. W.

Accounts from Paris mention that an agent has been dispatched from Madrid to Seville with arguments *to persuade* the Cortes to join the Royal cause.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Board of Control, June 25, 1823.

MY DEAR DUKE,

We are getting on, though very slowly. It is thought the session will close in three weeks, which I think most probable, as everybody is going out of town, and they will not be able to make houses. Ireland still hangs upon us, and every day makes it more and more alarming. They can get no communication whatever from Lord Wellesley. He will not write, and this adds to the perplexity of the Government. I have not the least doubt whatever but that in a very short time you will see a decided rebellion. It can hardly be called less than a general insurrection now. Plunket is gone back very sore and very desponding.

The King is quite re-established, and I hear in very cheerful spirits. He has put off the match between Lady Elizabeth Conyngham and Lord Aboyne. He does not go to the sea, as I understand, till the end of July, and has not yet decided what day he comes to town.

Canning does nothing in the House, and I think suffers Peel to take completely the lead. The Spaniards must ultimately give way, and the greatest ridicule is thrown on this subscription and ball now going forward. It is exclusively with the Opposition, and will fail. It is curious

now to observe how those who had not courage at the time to support your opinions against the revolutionary Government of Spain, are now coming forward and applauding your language and opinions. What Canning is doing about it I know not, but he is very busy with the diplomacy there. He is disposed to appoint Hervey to some other station, in order to get rid of the anomaly of a Secretary of Embassy to a Minister (not with the rank of Ambassador), but he has great difficulty, having neither pension fund nor vacancy at an ambassador's court; therefore, what he will do remains to be seen. He cannot remove him without provision, and Hervey is ready to return, if required. Lord Salisbury is succeeded by Lord Verulam in the Lieutenancy of Hertford. I don't know who comes in for Hertford. I cannot tell you how things are going on with Wynn, &c., not having had the opportunity lately of observing—but I should hope better. I think Canning loses ground greatly. He is anything but a leader of the House of Commons.

The Lords have decided on appointing a Chairman to hear *Scotch appeals only*, with a salary—this Chairman to be some eminent Scotch judge. The question for the Commons to decide will be the *salary*, which the Lord Chancellor will not pay, but which I think the Commons will be disposed to fasten upon him.

I have not heard from Freeling.[1] I take it for granted he will not stir a step with regard to the mail coach, without first apprizing me, or making some communication to the country.

Ever, my dear Duke,
Most faithfully yours,
W. H. F.

[1] Mr. Francis Freeling, in 1828 created a Baronet—Secretary to the Post Office.

The Lords' Report on this Appeal Committee has been called for by Kennedy. I *believe* Canning, when he heard of it, called a Cabinet to remonstrate, and whether he was outvoted, remains to be seen. I think they will not venture to move upon it this session.

I hear Lord Bath gets the blue riband. This will be a severe blow to Lord Harrowby.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, June 26, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

We have at last a despatch to-day, assuring us that he[1] considers the alarm as groundless, and to the extent to which it at present prevails, perfectly absurd. He admits the general expectation of rising, but has not been able to ascertain any facts to justify it. He denies the increase of the guards of Dublin to any material degree, and expressly disclaims any wish for further legislative powers, or, as things now appear, for any additional military force. He laments the mutual exasperation between the two parties, and *complains* that the leaders of each will not unite in a system of conciliation.

More arrant fudge could scarcely be found if Dr. Burdock's copy of verses had been recorded by Miss Amelia Wilhelmina Skeggs in "The Vicar of Wakefield."

I hope, however, he is right in his want of apprehension of danger, and may not be waked to it by such an affair as that in Thomas-street, of 1803. He speaks of the concurrence of Lord Combermere and of the Solicitor-General, which does not quite tally with what I have heard of their sentiments; but this is of little importance, heaven knows, either way.

[1] The Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

"Your scandal is good indeed—I should have thought too much so to be true.

Respecting the fate of the two Bills in the Lords, I apprehend the first half of George's (granting the elective franchise) will pass, the other miscarry. I can hardly think it possible that the Tithe Bill should, notwithstanding Liverpool's eagerness upon the subject.

Out of eighty-four days which we had sat, up to Monday last, forty-nine have been occupied in Irish business! We now *begin* to be heartily tired, and *therefore* may, I hope, be expected to travel *au galop*.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, June 30, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

A'Court has, as you will have already learnt, very properly declined the invitation of the Regency to Cadiz. He is directed to proceed to Gibraltar, unless he shall find that the King, after being, as intended, restored to nominal liberty and sanity at Cadiz, shall press his going there as affording a certain degree of protection to his life.

The removal to Cadiz I take to have been a mere act of desperation. Many members of the Cortes have slipped away, and it is a fact that the Regency could not get any individual to hold office *ad interim* under them, or even a clerk to countersign their letter to A'Court. They may have in Cadiz, it is said, possibly from 10,000 to 12,000 men.

Harrowby's disappointment seems to sit easy upon him.

I enclose a letter just received from P——.[1] I do not

[1] Not preserved.

know what foundation he has of the report of dudgeon in the Home Office. It is perfectly true that his objection to reversal of attainders was supported by no one. Both he and his man complain much of being left to carry through the Tithe Bill unassisted by Plunket, and I think not without reason.

It certainly is odd that a measure for getting rid of tithes should fall into the hands of the members for the Universities of Oxford and Dublin, and of a candidate for that of Cambridge.

It is quite determined to carry it through in the present session.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Camelford House, July 3, 1823.

I most heartily join with you in taking joy at what I consider as *the triumph of the cause of freedom* in the Peninsula;—having read enough to know, and having seen enough to observe, that of all possible tyrannies—and I cordially hate them all—the most contemptible, corrupt, and cruel is the tyranny of absolute democracy, most especially when resting, as in Spain and Portugal, on that new instrument of freedom, a mutinous and self-governed army.

Your friend Sir Robert[1] makes a pretty figure in this puppet-show!

[1] Sir Robert Wilson.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, July 3, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

The last judicial appointment which I made was about a twelvemonth ago, of Sir Edward West, to be Recorder of Bombay. As soon as the Bill for establishing a new judicature there shall receive the Royal assent, he will be nominated Chief Justice.

The elder brother was also recommended to me, among other grounds, on the sacrifice which he had made in voting for Lord Grenville in 1809, being then a Fellow of University College, which had been remembered to his disadvantage by the Chancellor on different occasions. I laid both their names, among others, before the Chief Baron, who is my ordinary legal adviser on these occasions. The result of his inquiries was very favourable to Edward West, but your friend Martin West, though described to be of excellent character, all the cardinal virtues, and *meilleur enfant du monde*, was allowed by his friends to be unfortunately indolent, which, for the climate of India, is the greatest fault that can be attributed to a public functionary.

You have not returned to me Plunket's letter; pray send it forthwith, as I transmitted to you the very day I received it, and have not yet answered it. The passage you allude to refers to Peel. The question was the reversal of Scotch, not Irish attainders, but he so little pressed his objection, and was so little supported, that I do not think it likely to have been the ground of such serious complaint.

Nugent's Bill for restoring the elective franchise will, I believe, pass the House of Lords; the other will, I con-

clude, be dropped in the Commons. I still hope we may adjourn to-morrow sevennight, but we must depend for that on the forbearance or fatigue of Opposition, since, if they choose to go on with the system of raising discussions every day, they may prevent us.

Canning has sent out his cards for a Cabinet dinner on the 23rd, so I suppose he does not contemplate the prorogation till about that time. Lord Grenville is in town, looking much better than when I last saw him. He has had no offer for Camelford House, and seems to be making up his mind to retain it and live there, notwithstanding the faults of its situation.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Board of Control, July 9, 1823.

MY DEAR DUKE,

We are now nearly closing the session, and certainly with more success altogether than one could have expected; but one thing has been manifested—namely, that we should have done just as well without Canning as a leader, as with him. He has taken upon himself no authority, either by putting down or assisting questions doubtful or difficult. Robinson and Peel have both risen much beyond him in estimation as general speakers and men of business.

The accounts from Ireland are better, and at last they have got communications from Lord Wellesley. I think the House of Commons have not done well in whitewashing O'Grady, which I think they have done. The King came to town yesterday, and gives a great dinner to-morrow. They say he also gives a ball on Friday. I understand he

remains about a fortnight in town, and then proceeds to the Yacht.

Ever most faithfully yours,
W. H. FREMANTLE.

P.S.—Lord Hastings is expected in town to-morrow or next day.

The next letter refers to a measure alluded to in a previous communication, brought forward by Lord Nugent, for restoring the elective franchise to places in which it had been forfeited. Mr. Wynn expected that it would pass the House of Lords, but he found himself mistaken.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

House of Commons, July 10, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

The defeat of Nugent's Bill, though supported by the speeches of Liverpool, Westmoreland, Harrowby, and Melville, together with the votes of Bathurst and Bexley, by the Chancellor, Duke of York, and Shaftesbury, has produced much sensation. Brougham is now speaking upon the Scotch Appeal Commission Bill, and has been describing the Chancellor as Prime Minister, and constantly denominating Lord Liverpool "My noble coadjutor," "the noble Earl with whom I have the honour to act," &c. &c., with much humour. Sidmouth slunk away without voting. It is most vexatious that the Bill should have been lost, as with common exertion to enter proxies, it might have been carried. You will see the Chancellor denied the possibility of any man who refused the oath of supremacy being a loyal subject! The D—— of Y——, I regret to say, most conspicuously active.

My wife and I are *at last* going to a dress party to-night at Carlton House.

Thank heaven, to-morrow the House of Commons adjourns, and we conclude with my E. I. Mutiny Bill, which Bobus Smith is to oppose violently.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

Lord Grenville sets out on Sunday on a tour to the Lakes.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, July 18, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

As I am to dine the Lion of the East, Commander of the Faithful, &c. &c., the most exalted Caliph Hastings, on this day sevennight, you will extremely oblige me by contributing towards the gorging of his royal jaws.

I have asked sundry of my *confrères* to meet him, but I do not think he appears graciously inclined towards us.

We had a very grand party at Carlton House on Thursday last, and a gay ball for the children last Tuesday; so I suppose we are either in favour, or, which is more likely, that the people in attendance have found out the blunders and omissions which they made last year. I hear the absence of all Grenvilles, either in person or proxy, from the division on the Elective Franchise Bill, is much commented upon, and considered as a retaliation for the desertion of Plunket in the House of Commons.

Much apprehension is entertained of the Cortes being driven into desperation by the violence of the Madrid Regency, and bringing the beloved Ferdinand to trial, for which proofs certainly are not wanting.

The French profess the greatest disapprobation of the

persecuting spirit of the Regency, but seem to take no steps to control it; and it seems to be encouraged by the other members of the Holy Alliance.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. WILLIAMS WYNN.

The Prorogation will be on Saturday, notwithstanding a blunder about the Commission, by which we lose to-day in the House of Commons.

Westmoreland is so extremely pleased with his own speech on Nugent's Bill, and so angry with the Chancellor for opposing it, that he only wants a little flattery to make him a good Papist.

Sundry of my colleagues are also angry with said noble and learned Lord, for throwing out the Slave Trade Consolidation Bill, which had been approved and settled by Lord Bathurst, and for leaving out the disputed parts of the Silk Bill.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

East India Office, July 21, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

I agree with you that my stairs are somewhat narrow for the whole full-blown dignity of the Caliph to ascend. If he would engage to remain in England till the autumn, I would receive him in a better house, and would provide a grander assortment of company to meet him; but, unfortunately, I have found all my colleagues engaged, and must make my table up with directors, military men, and such like *second chop*.

The Chancellor's[1] language is exactly the same as he held in 1808, and has continued to hold at the close of every Session since. He certainly has been obliged to

[1] Lord Eldon.

swallow some pills *contre cœur*, but has his own way infinitely too far. I am not surprised that he is somewhat angry at the silence with which Brougham's attack upon him was received by the Treasury Bench in the House of Commons. Peel continues very glum and sulky.

As to Spain, if one can judge from our accounts, the French are more embarrassed than ever. They are obliged to find money for everything, for not a single dollar can the Spaniards muster, and they find that they have less weight, notwithstanding, with the Regency than the Russian Minister, who encourages them in all their violent measures. The Regency have actually refused to treat with Cadiz, though there are many there who are much disposed to it. The force which occupies it is almost entirely militia, and, therefore, cannot be expected to hold out long when there shall be a naval force to co-operate.

Duc d'Angoulême is completely sick, and the present plan is, that if they can get the King at liberty, he is to convene a general Cortes, and the French are to leave them and him to make a constitution, withdrawing all their troops . . . . . except 25,000, who are to form an echellon of communication between Bayonne and Madrid. This seems to me *most infernal nonsense*, too absurd to be ever entertained by the French Cabinet, though they think it may pass upon us, and therefore hold this language to Stuart.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

You have, of course, long heard of Lord Fitzwilliam's nuptials. I wonder how they have kept out of the newspaper.

The appropriate remark is that "it is a very sensible marriage;" to which it is to be replied, "because the senses have nothing to do with it."

On the 16th of July, during a debate in the House of Commons on the subject of Scotch Appeals, Mr. Brougham afforded great amusement to that assembly by drawing a vivid but somewhat sarcastic picture of the state of the Government. "As to Lord Liverpool being Prime Minister," observed the learned gentleman, "he is no more Prime Minister than I am. I reckon Lord Liverpool a sort of member of Opposition; and after what has recently passed, if I were required I should designate him as 'a noble lord in another place with whom I have the honour to act.' Lord Liverpool may have collateral influence, but Lord Eldon has all the direct influence of the Prime Minister. He is Prime Minister to all intents and purposes, and he stands alone in the full exercise of all the influence of that high situation."[1]

In this strain the orator proceeded, claiming Lord Liverpool as a coadjutor because both opposed the measures of the Lord Chancellor. Lord Eldon did not at all relish the joke, perhaps because it was not at the expense of the Grenvilles, and soon afterwards again expressed his intention to resign. This had been repeated so often that it elicited the following squib:—

"The Chancellor vows he'll depart, as they say
(So Derry sometimes, if his crew disobey),
But when his resigning a minister mentions,
We think how hell's paved with mankind's good intentions;
For still being in, though so oft going out,
We feel much inclined, like his lordship—to doubt."

[1] Hansard.

Parliament was prorogued on the 19th of July, apparently equally to the relief of the Government and the Opposition. A great variety of subjects had been discussed, including the pretended claims of Olivia Serres, self-styled Princess of Cumberland, but little practical good had been effected, and the Ministers were not gaining the confidence of the country or strengthening their own position. The King, too, was losing the popularity he had gained since the Queen's death, by his endeavours to remove himself as much as possible from the public gaze. The Duke of Buckingham's correspondents kept him fully informed on these and all other topics of interest.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, July 27, 1823.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I perfectly agree with you in thinking that Canning only waits the opportunity of tripping us up, and this is only to be resisted by a steady line of conduct on our parts, pursuing and maintaining the system as it is now carrying on towards Ireland, until we see the opportunity, by the accordance of other members of the Government, to meet him with the certainty of success. The complete ascendancy which both Robinson and Peel have acquired over him in the House of Commons, but more particularly the former, must weaken his means of playing us a trick, which I am satisfied he is fully disposed to do whenever he can find the opportunity.

I don't agree with you at all about Lord Hastings; be

assured there is not the most distant idea of sending him to Ireland. I am quite sure Canning distrusts and hates him too much to employ him if it be possible to keep him out, and I do not understand his reception at head quarters has been such as to satisfy him, or give him the hopes of employment. He is very low and disappointed, and is immediately going out of town. He has been profusely civil and attentive to Wynn, but is not come in the highest odour either with the Government or Court of Directors. His conduct about the Press in India has been flagrant, and since his departure Adams has sent home the editor of the Calcutta paper, who has been bullying them for the last five years, and whom Lord Hastings has never had the courage to resist, but, on the contrary, has frequently defended him against his own colleagues in council. This will make a very considerable and difficult discussion in Parliament next year, and I much fear that our Cabinet at home will not have courage to fight the battle manfully; I have no hesitation in thinking with Adams that the fate of India depends on the power of checking the press in that country.

The King has had a party with him for the last two days at the Cottage here, and by all accounts is well in health, but most averse to going to sea; whether they will persuade him or not remains to be proved. Lady C—— is very anxious he should, in order to get some holidays, and I believe Knighton likewise presses it. In the meantime he is injuring himself greatly in public opinion by his seclusion; he professes to be so ill he cannot go to his Parliament or stir out in public in London, and then comes here, and sees forty or fifty people, and is driving all day in the park. The real fact is, they cannot manage him; his mind becomes daily more capricious, and his indispo-

sition to public display or communication of any kind, increasing upon him to an extreme degree. The people at Windsor are outrageous; for he has shut up the terrace and all the public walks, and is doing everything to render himself unpopular with them.

Lionel Harvey is going on a secret mission to Mexico. What is to be derived from it I have little guess; but there is every reason to believe that France has sent somebody there, and there is no doubt that America will endeavour, or has already got, the start of Europe upon it. Canning is very anxious not to lose the moment; and I suppose that this must be the prelude of our admitting the independence of South America; however, the mission is secret, but he is commissioned, and has the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary. It is a long and desolate prospect, but the scene will be new. He is not quite reconciled to it, but having no better prospect, I think he has done wise in accepting it; they give him two secretaries. I would not wish you to mention this appointment. I find Canning is by no means of opinion that France has or will succeed in her efforts in Spain; at least, this was the tone of his language to Lionel, who saw him yesterday. I hear from Wynn that the grand attack on Cadiz was expected to take place between the 25th and 30th July.

Ever, my dear Duke,

Most faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

Mr. Thomas Grenville was one of the most liberal collectors of rare books at a time when bibliomania was much more in fashion than it is now. The following is a characteristic specimen of his

powers of observation when directed to his favourite pursuit:—

THE RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Square, July 30, 1823.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I have just been collating two copies of the "Sacra Exequialia in Funere Jacobi II.—a Carolo de Aquino. Fol. Romæ 1702." Whether you have this book or not, you certainly have in your Granger the famous print (belonging to this book) of a head of the *Pretender*, by *Edelinck, ætatis suæ* 12. In one of my copies (the presentation copy to the King of France or one of the French Royal Family) below the head, upon a *tablet*, is engraved "Cognoscunt mei me," and in the corner of the tablet "ætatis suæ 12;" and on each side of the tablet is a circular *medallion*, one of which is *a library* with "Litteris Insignis" round it. The other *medallion* is a *man firing at a wild boar*, with "Et Armis" round it. In the *centre of the large circle* which surrounds the head, and just above the tablet, is a *large medallion*, with the sun behind a cloud, and round it "Et latet et lucet." In the other copy, the same print (with Edelinck's name and "ætatis suæ 12," in the corner of the tablet, like the other), has these variations.

The *large medallion* above the tablet has the "Arms of England with a crown."

The *tablet* has no inscription, but is left blank, except that it has in the corner "Ætatis suæ 12."

The *two small medallions* have, one of them, the Prince's plume, with *Ich dien*; the other, the Order of the Garter, with *Honi soit qui mal y pense.*

These differences are remarkable, and as I have found

no account of them, and understand the print is rare and dear, I send to you for information about them.

In my "royal copy, with the French royal arms," the impression of the head seems much finer than the other, which has the English emblems in the medallions. Perhaps they were subsequently inserted; but why, then, was "Cognoscunt mei me," taken out and the tablet left blank? Was it intended perhaps to insert his royal titles, and if so, why were they omitted, when the English arms were substituted for the allegorical medallions? I know, when you are among your prints, these inquiries, however minute, are interesting to you.

I know no news except the Spanish and Portuguese finale to their revolutions, which, inasmuch as they were both military and not civil revolutions, I could not wish success to, though I feel as adverse to the French dictation and invasion as any Spaniard could do. Love to your dear wife. Ever most affectionately yours,

T. G.

Miss Poyntz has just refused Lord Apsley; who the deuce will she marry?

Mr. Canning had by this time made good his position at Court, by coming to an understanding with the most influential channel of Court favour. The Scottish preacher, Irving, the Spurgeon of his day, indicated her presence among his fashionable audience by a very delicate piece of flattery. "All the world here," writes the indignant Lord Chancellor, "is running on Sundays to the Caledonian Chapel in Hatton Garden, where they hear a Presbyterian orator from Scotland preaching, as some

ladies term it, *charming* matter, though downright nonsense. To the shame of the King's Ministers be it said, that many of them have gone to this schism-shop with itching ears. Lauderdale told me that when Lady —— is there, the preacher never speaks of an heavenly mansion, but an heavenly *Pavilion*. For other ears mansion is sufficient."[1]

"The appointment of Lord Albert Conyngham in the Foreign Office," we are assured by the same writer, "has, by female influence, put Canning beyond the reach of anything to affect him, and will naturally enable him to turn those out whom he does not wish to remain in. The King is in such thraldom that one has nobody to fall back upon."[2]

The autumn did not bring any very important changes, as may be gathered from the text of Mr. Williams Wynn's next letter. Towards the conclusion the writer refers to communications from Count Nugent to the Duke of Buckingham, and to a reply which the Duke had proposed sending, evidently referring to Austrian policy, and written with the view of being laid before the Emperor.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Llangodwin, Aug. 20, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

I certainly cannot conceive from what source the article in the *Courier* so tallying with my language can proceed,

[1] Twiss's "Life of Lord Eldon," vol. ii. p. 86.
[2] Ibid., p. 87.

unless it should be from Phillimore or Courtenay; for there are no other persons besides you and the Duke of Wellington and Lord Liverpool, with whom I have had any communication on the subject; and the two latter are much too well inclined to Lord Hastings, or to anybody whom they think the King feels any interest for, to have expressed those sentiments to any one who might transfer them to the *Courier*.

I have had no politics since I have been here, and not one word even of news except a line from Robinson in answer to an inquiry respecting the last Cabinet, which he did not himself attend, but, as he tells me, was called at the instance of the D—— of W——, on the subject of the former one, held the day before I left town, on the Portuguese application for military assistance. However, no alteration was made in the determination.

I fear that I cannot supply you with much intelligence as to Austrian policy. The general language which she holds, tallies very much with Nugent's letter—great desire to draw her ties closer with this country—implied rather than positive approbation of our course, but great unwillingness in any respect to commit herself, I will not say in opposition, but even to any different views from those of Russia.

I am also quite unable to tell you whether Nugent be Prince or still only Count; I rather think the former.

It is now above a month since I have seen any Austrian despatches, and I doubt whether at the time they were written she could be aware of the probable course of events in Spain, and the different objects of French and Russian influence in that country.

I should not myself imagine that she can be favourably disposed to the extension of Russian influence in the Medi-

Mediterranean, and therefore would be more likely to join in the views of France; but I have not the means of forming any opinion beyond mere speculation.

Pray tell me whether you hear anything respecting the Buck-hounds,[1] and, which is more material, what Neville gets by Lord Cornwallis's death.

Will it not be advisable that you should communicate Nugent's letter and your answer to it to be written to Liverpool?

I certainly agree with Burke in the propriety of the old practice of communicating to the King's Government any intercourse which you may hold with a foreign sovereign, whether direct or indirect, which in any way refers to public subjects; and as there are obvious and numerous reasons for not making this to Canning, who would naturally be the proper channel, I think Liverpool would be the fittest. If you do not like to do this personally, I should, of course, be happy to do it for you.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Aug. 21, 1823.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I am just come from Windsor, where I was summoned to attend a Council. Nothing occurred worth telling you excepting that Lord Maryborough, I learnt from himself, had got the Stag-hounds vacant by Lord Cornwallis's death. This was given in the most gracious manner by the King in a letter written with his own hand. I think *Wellesley Pole* has been pretty well paid altogether. The Mint, the Cabinet, a Peerage, and now the Stag-hounds. Lord

[1] Lord Maryborough succeeded the Marquis Cornwallis.

Liverpool, Canning, Peel, Lord Maryborough, Charles Long, and myself, formed the Council. His Majesty looked really remarkably well, and walked up and down the large state stairs without a stick, and about the apartments after the Council extremely well, much better than I had the least idea he could have done. You may judge how he shuts himself up when I tell you that this was the first time I had seen him since I have been here—now upwards of a month, indeed, six weeks. I should say from what I observed that the Cabinet were in high spirits, but nothing passed in private conversation to give me information.

Canning was on his way to Liverpool, and Peel made it in his way from Dorsetshire to town, and he was to return in a few days.

The state of Ireland improves greatly, and I suppose till the long nights commence, we shall not have the full state of alarm renewed.

The Duke of Wellington is gone on his tour, and all business will be at a stand for the next six weeks.

Ever, my dear Duke,

Most faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

THE RIGHT HON. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Aug. 22, 1823.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Since my note of yesterday I find Lord Maryborough resigns the Mint and Cabinet, and takes the Stag-hounds as a retirement. I believe Wallace succeeds to the Mint, though some say Lord Granville; the former *I* say, and either Lord Granville or Huskisson come into the Cabinet; I should suppose the latter. They are angry with A'Court for having gone to Gibraltar; he was afraid of the

yellow fever. The consequence is that we have at present no British Minister with the King of Spain, and the difficulties arising from this in case of change or negotiation (which latter must be daily expected as actually proceeding) so obvious. They talk of Fitzroy Somerset going again, and Canning does not return from his excursion under three weeks.

Ever truly yours,

W. H. F.

The Grenville section of the Government had many reasons for wishing to have the Duke of Buckingham a member of the Cabinet, and it will be seen that Mr. Williams Wynn once more strove to induce the Duke to quit his dignified retirement for the purpose of taking a share in Ministerial responsibilities.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Llangodwin, Aug. 28, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

The recommendation which was contained in my last, of sending a copy of your letter to Lord Liverpool, arose from my concurring in the old principle that it is unfit for any British subject to hold communication with any foreign sovereign, particularly on any political question, without the knowledge and permission of the King's Government. You will see this adverted to, I think, in Burke's letter to the Duke of Portland. Assuming this to be correct, I do not think that there is any material difference whether your correspondence is directly with the Emperor of Austria, or with Count Nugent to be laid before him; and I should certainly have given you the same advice in the year 1816,

when you were acting in hostility to Government, as strongly as I do now.

With respect to the Cabinet, the frequent complaints which you have heard from me of the single and unconnected situation in which I find myself, these would show you how anxiously I must wish that you could effect your entry there, independent of every motive of personal regard, gratitude, and attachment.

I doubt, however, whether consistently with your own dignity, you could avail yourself of any vacancy but those of the Presidency of the Council, Privy Seal, Admiralty, or Secretary of State. The Mint or Chancellorship of the Duchy would, in the public eye, be entirely below your rank and situation to accept.

I think, therefore, that you should confine your application to the first-named offices, or (objectionable in principle as I always think it) to Cabinet without office. You may, I think, assume the probability of Sidmouth's retirement as a ground for pressing the latter; but at all events it will be desirable to state very clearly and distinctly the prospects which were held out to you by Lord Londonderry. At the present moment you may be assured that there will be much disinclination to admit your claim.

The Protestant party is eager, the Catholic lukewarm and hollow. C——[1] knows not where to look for support, but is afraid that by joining himself with us, who seem his natural allies, he would increase the indisposition of the K—— and D—— of Y——, which he would make any sacrifice to deprecate. Besides this, he has no inclination to any who assume higher pretensions than those of being his followers; and after what took place a twelvemonth

[1] Canning.

ago, he, like all other persons who have been in the wrong in a dispute and advanced unreasonable pretensions, will be personally disinclined to those who were in the right and resisted them, and this will of course be increased by the difference in your former politics. The only person to whom you can look is the D—— of W——. If he thinks you are likely to assist and strengthen him, I have no doubt he could open the door to you; but I freely acknowledge that I do not understand his views and objects. They begin, centre, and end, no doubt, in himself, and on that account he would like to cement an alliance with you; but then how will he manage it with the Protestants? I take it, both from what I recollect of the language of the Horse Guards during the whole of the Peninsular War, and from other circumstances, that there is no real cordiality between him and the D—— of Y——. The latter has, I believe, always been jealous of him. He looks, I apprehend, to Peel and the Chancellor, and to them only as the instruments of his bigotry to resist the Catholic claims.

Robinson, I believe, confines himself to his own business, and Liverpool is indifferent to everything but present repose, and by any temporizing measure to delay the evil hour of rupture and collision. Still, when it comes to the point, you will find him on almost every subject make some excuse for siding with the Protestant party.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Wynnstay, Sept. 9, 1823.

My dear B——,

When you mentioned that you had communicated your letter to Nugent to me in my *ministerial* capacity, I certainly concluded that it conveyed a clear authority to have extended it to Lord L—— or C—— at my own discretion, but fortunately I had not exercised that power, and certainly shall not.

I am not surprised that Mr. C—— should coax you, even if you had turned your head aside from his daughter, and passed on the other side like the Levite; for he is under a charge of illegally making a loan to the Rajah of Vizianagum, and of having derived therefrom exorbitant interest. Of the merits of the charge I can say little, but common report is by no means friendly to him.

The proposed grant to Lord Hastings has been lost in consequence of an equality of votes, eight to eight, five present but refusing to vote, and three absent—two of the latter hostile. Objection was taken to praise of his integrity or disinterestedness by one of those who refused to vote, stating at the same time he would have supported it if moved on the ground of his poverty.

Canning has shown me the last despatches, by which it appears that there is much schism in the French Cabinet, Villele supporting the Duc d'Angoulême, Chateaubriand the Allied Powers and the Spanish Regency. Magnanimity has instructed Pozzo de Borgo to consider all communications from the latter as if they emanated directly from himself. Metternich takes also strongly the same line, recommending an amnesty, excepting all those who were active in forcing the acceptance of the constitution on Ferdi-

mand. I do not at present apprehend any dispute relative to the blockade, as the French are very scrupulous in keeping the law on their side, and have not yet done anything more than they were clearly entitled to.

Ever affectionately yours,

C. W. W.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Wynnstay, Sept. 10, 1823.

MY DEAR B——,

Canning told me that he had insisted that Huskisson should at all events be taken into the Cabinet at the end of the last Session, whether any vacancy occurred or not, and that the persuasion of Lord Maryborough to make room for him was a subsequent consideration.

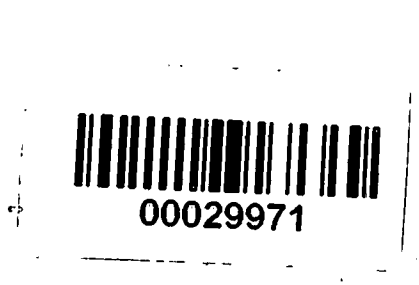
Lord M—— is much out of humour at his change of office; which he may well be, as the Mint is 3000*l.* clear, and the Buck-hounds under 2000*l.*; indeed, they are said not to exceed 1300*l.*

My own belief is that the only real and efficient Cabinet upon *all* matters consists of Lords Liverpool and Bathurst, Duke of Wellington, and Canning, and that the others are only more or less consulted upon different businesses by these four. Huskisson will, I think, be equally in the confidence of Liverpool and Canning.

Ever most affectionately yours,

C. WILLIAMS WYNN.

END OF VOL. I.


00029971

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 April, 2016